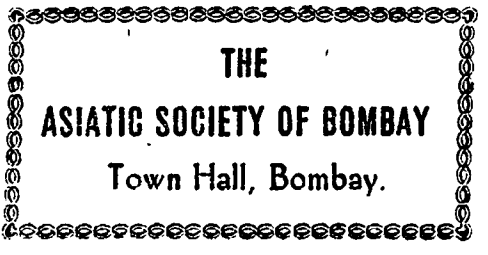
00028765



Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 02 January, 2016

LORD DARNLEY.

After his Marriage with Mary Queen of Scots

Pub.d by Sherwood, Jones & Co. March 1.1825

THE

CASE

OF

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS,

AND OF

ELIZABETH QUEEN OF ENGLAND,

LEGALLY, BRIEFLY, AND HISTORICALLY STATED:

EMBRACING THE

Amorous Life of the Virgin Queen,

AND IDENTIFYING HER WITH ALL THE PLANS THAT LED TO

Mary's Ruin and Murder.

WITH

AN ACCOUNT OF THE LAST MOMENTS OF MARY, HER LETTER TO ELIZABETH, AND DAVISON'S APOLOGY ABOUT THE DEATH-WARRANT:

THE WHOLE DRAWN FROM STATE PAPERS, AND THE MOST AUTHENTIC SOURCES,

By HUGH CAMPBELL, LL.D. F.A.S.

Illustrator of Ossian's Poems, and of the Love Letters of Mary Queen of Scots.

Censén' te posse reperire ullam mulierem quæ careat culpa?

TERENCE, HEC.

28765 a.c

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR SHERWOOD, JONES, AND CO.

PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1825.

911.05
28765

00028765

B. M'Millan, Printer,
Bow-street, Covent-garden.

TO

WALTER F. CAMPBELL,

OF ISLAY, ESQ. M.P.

&c. &c. &c.

DEAR SIR,

I KNOW not to whom I can with so much sincerity and propriety dedicate the present Work in favour of Mary Queen of Scots, as to you; who, uniting in your person, the blood of two of her most loyal, powerful, and strenuous Friends—the Earl of Argyll, and Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudon,—exemplify the virtues of your Illustrious Ancestors, whether in the Senate, or in the more quiet walks of domestic life.

Accept then, Sir, a Volume, which is drawn from the most authentic sources, and which is intended to contain a chain of evidence, every link of which connects the Virgin Queen with all the plots and plans that led to Mary's murder.

And believe me,

DEAR SIR,

Yours faithfully,

HUGH CAMPBELL.

Middle Temple,
Feb. 1825.

PREFACE.

I PROMISED in "The Love Letters to Bothwell," to prove that Elizabeth was unkind, cruel, and unmerciful to Mary; and in this volume I redeem my pledge.

Because I fairly and honestly gave the advocacy for and against the lovely Queen of Scots, I was charged in a periodical work, that purports to give a fair and *impartial* review of new publications, with having joined the Queen's enemies! It would be lost time and labour to attempt to convince any person to the contrary, who could arrive at such a conclusion, after having read my Preface and Introduction to the Love Letters. To such persons let this Volume speak for me!—whilst I treat them with contempt.

In this Work I have selected proofs from a host of Authors, that Elizabeth was either directly in person, or indirectly through her Ambassadors, the *primum mobile* of all the intrigues, plots, and

plans, which led to involve Mary, first in difficulties, then in dangers, and, subsequently, in ruin. The following Case, I presume, will reconcile me to those readers who consider me an enemy of Mary, or a distorter of truth.

CASE OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS:

BRIEFLY STATED, QUERIED, AND ANSWERED.

Driven from her throne by Rebels, and deeply distressed, she took refuge in the territory of a friendly Princess, who was nearly related to her; and, in fact, she was her Heir Apparent in the Succession; and she was by the said Princess detained, at first as a prisoner; and, subsequently, put to death, contrary to the laws of courtesy, of nature, and of hospitality.

The following questions occur, of course: Was the friendly Princess, in whose realm the Queen of Scots took refuge, justified by any known law of states or nations? No!—Are there any cases on English historical record, in point with that of Mary Queen of Scots? None in point!—But since the Conquest, there are two cases mentioned in the History of England, recording the fact of two Princes having been detained, by friendly powers, when necessarily passing through their territories!

State the cases: The first is that of the brave Richard, King of England, who was detained by the reigning Duke of Austria, until ransomed, on his return from the Holy Land: the second is that of the Prince of Scotland, who was detained by Henry IV. King of England, after having been driven on the coast of England by a violent storm!

Were these cases precedents for the conduct of Elizabeth towards the Queen of Scots? I should think not; for they severally called forth the indignation of Europe at the time; and I cannot conceive that such violations of hospitality and the supreme law of nature, could be in accordance with the spirit and temper of the more refined nations of Europe in the time of Queen Elizabeth—an age of chivalry, and the dawn of true philosophy.

But were there no political causes for the detention of Mary by Elizabeth? To short-sighted politicians there were such causes, arising from prejudices which in the present, or in any enlightened age, would occasion no obstacles—as in the late cases of the exiled Families of Orange and of Bourbon—because England then, had already the means to triumph over the Catholic League, which was done the year after the murder of Mary, by the defeat of the Armada; and, if Mary had been allowed to return to France, which she requested, after she found that her Son was

legally and firmly seated on the throne of his ancestors, there could have arisen no danger to England—inasmuch as the union of the Protestants of England and Scotland, would then have been too formidable, as they have since proved, for any efforts of the Continental Catholic Powers to disturb or destroy.

Then Mary cannot be justly considered blameable for the intestine plots and conspiracies of the Catholics, which occurred in England during a great part of Elizabeth's reign? Most certainly not!—for Elizabeth, by her detention of Mary, must have foreseen, or been less wise than she is represented to have been, that while the Queen of Scots continued in England, a declared victim to the Popish religion, she would naturally be not only an object of lively commiseration and pity, but also a rallying point for the Catholic standard.

Then it follows, as a matter of course, that Mary must have been much more hardly treated, than she deserved to have been treated by the Queen of England? Assuredly so!—There can be but one rational opinion on the subject! Lord Burleigh's Vindication of the Counsellors of the English Queen, recorded in Murdin's State Papers, will only militate against the propriety of the advice which went to detain Mary in England after James VI. was publicly crowned in Scotland. The influence of the Queen Mother, Ca-

therine de Medicis, in France; her hatred of the House of Lorraine and of Mary; and the feeble efforts of her Son, after Mary was sentenced to *die*—prove beyond the shadow of a doubt, the infallibility of the foregoing conclusion.

It is an old and established maxim of the Laws of England, that a person cannot take advantage of his own wrong act!—*volenti non fit injuria.* Now it is clear to all, and follows as a matter of course, that Elizabeth burst this bond of her country's laws, when she sentenced Mary to death: for she it was who had done wrong from first to last, by a dangerous and unjust detention of Mary in England! And she it was, who, by so detaining the Scottish Queen, made herself (by consequence), the origin of all the plots, dangers, and results, to her and kingdom, which she afterwards so unjustly visited with vengeance on the head of her lovely prisoner.

Mary fell by the executioner!—Elizabeth, in consequence, will not cease to fall, high as she stands by prejudices, when she is written of by the Historian, who traces effects to their causes. Groundless fears of shadows, in the first instance, introduced jealousy; jealousy, in the second, led her to cruelty; and cruelty, in the third instance, led her to murder.

HUGH CAMPBELL.

Such are my opinions, and such *were* my opinions, when I published "The Love Letters of Mary Queen of Scots;" notwithstanding all that the shallow reader of that volume may think to the contrary!

Had I published "The Love Letters" without the advocacy *pro* and *con*, I had then been justly chargeable with partiality; but, my object was and is, in that and this volume, to clear up the obscurity in which the *true* history of Mary is involved by prejudiced writers; so that the most simple-minded, may understand the facts which have been heretofore confined to the studies of historians and antiquaries.

My object is now attained. "The Love Letters of Mary," and "The Case of Mary Queen of Scots, and of Elizabeth Queen of England," embrace an extensive view of all the public and private events which occurred to the Queen of Scots, from the moment of her landing in Scotland, until the time of her barbarous decollation at Fotheringay-castle.

Consequently, I might as justly entitle my two volumes, "The *Spirit* of the *Life* of Mary Queen

of Scots," as, owing to circumstances, "The Love Letters of Mary," and "The Case of Mary Queen of Scots, and of Elizabeth Queen of England;" to complete which volumes, without egotism, I may truly say,

"I have sipped the sweet from every flower"—

and, after having read the *originals* on which modern historians founded their more elegant narratives, I have merely adopted their descriptions, where faithfully and historically given, rather than risk my own narration, which would have been more liable to suspicion; and, probably, less elegant in composition.

Middle Temple,
Feb. 1825.

CONTENTS.

Introduction ..... page xvii

CHAP. I.

Of the House of Lorraine, and its bad Counsels to Mary's Mother, the Queen Regent, and the Consequences—The Earl of Glencairn, and Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudon, chosen by the Scottish Protestants to represent the Impropriety of the Queen Regent's Conduct—Her imprudent Answer, and Bloody Determination ..... page 1

CHAP. II.

Of Settlements of the Scottish Crown, said to have been made by Mary whilst under the influence of her Uncle the Cardinal of Lorraine, in France 11

CHAP. III.

Of Mary's return from France, and supposed Origin of the Discord between her and Elizabeth, who refuses her a safe Conduct—Mary escapes from the English Fleet sent to intercept her, and arrives in Scotland—State of that Kingdom 17

CHAP. IV.

Of Mary's Claim to the English Crown—Elizabeth supports the Scottish Protestants during Mary's stay in France—Her Brother, James Stuart Earl of Murray, and George Buchanan, his Tutor—Her Ideas of a Marriage with Lord Darnley her Cousin 27

CHAP. V.

Proposed Interview between Mary and Elizabeth—Mary solicited to marry into the House of Austria—subsequently by several other Princes—The Views of Elizabeth; and of Mary's Subjects on that occasion 33

CHAP. VI.

Negotiations with regard to the Queen's Marriage—Elizabeth recommends Leicester to Mary for an Husband—Mary offended—Elizabeth's Views in recommending him—Mary thinks of Lord Darnley—Elizabeth secretly pleased—Elizabeth and Mary each dissemble about the Marriage—Darnley arrives, and is beloved by Mary, who soon marries him—Of Rizzio's Rise—Darnley esteems him—Elizabeth angry at the Match—Approved of by France—Elizabeth intrigues ..... page 39

CHAP. VII.

Birth of King James—Darnley hated by Mary, and Bothwell loved—Elizabeth perplexed about Mary's successful Pretensions to the Succession, among the English—Elizabeth soothes and gains her Parliament—Mary intrigues in favour of Popery—Her extreme Hatred of the King 65

CHAP. VIII.

Secret Association of the Confederate Lords with Queen Elizabeth, against Mary—Murray's design to kill Darnley—His Insurrection, and Banishment—An Outline of his Character 78

CHAP. IX.

Battle of Langside, and Mary's Flight to England—Elizabeth deliberates about the manner of treating her—Resolves to detain her in England—Letter of Mary to Elizabeth on the subject—Letter from Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Murray, the Queen's Enemy 92

CHAP. X.

Mary caught in the Snare laid for her by Elizabeth, who takes advantage of Mary's offer to vindicate her Conduct—Mary greatly offended by Elizabeth's Conduct—Mary suspects her, and demands a Personal Interview—Mary accused by Murray of the Murder of her Husband—Is treated with greater rigour by Elizabeth, who secretly supports Murray, and hates Mary 102

CHAP. XI.

Of the Earl of Murray—Buchanan's Writings—Of Murray, and his Intrigues with the Court of France, and with Elizabeth—Attempts to usurp the Crown after the Queen's Marriage—His Conduct while Mary's Prime Minister—His more open attempts to seize the Crown—Elizabeth still intriguing—Conduct of the Conspirators after their Disappointment at the Kirk of Beith—Murray again appears in Scotland—His Murder—And his Character by another Hand—Elizabeth's Grief on the occasion—And cruel trifling with Mary's Feelings ..... page 117

CHAP. XII.

The Massacre of Paris, and its evil Consequences to Mary—Plots against Elizabeth—A severe Statute, which proved fatal to Mary in the end—She quarrels with her Son James—Critical situation of Elizabeth—Her Prudence, and vigorous Conduct—Resolves to punish Mary, and gain the King, her Son—Proposes a League with Scotland, which is adopted by that Country 175

CHAP. XIII.

Of Sir James Melvill, his Life and Character 188

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Love Letters—And the great Industry and Care of Elizabeth and Cecil in their Publication—Cruelty, in refusing Mary Copies, or sights of the Originals—Supposed to have been Forged—And serious Charges against the Queen of England, for encouraging the supposed Forgers 194

CHAP. XV.

Of the Duke of Norfolk, a new Lover of Mary—Conceals his Love from Elizabeth—Gains the Consent of the English Nobles sub rosa*—Discovered and defeated by Elizabeth—More Plots against the English Queen, who resolves to give up Mary to her Enemies in Scotland—Another Plot—Marriage proposed to Elizabeth by Catherine de Medicis, in favour of her Son the Duke of Anjou—Elizabeth declares open Hostility to Mary's Party—League between England and France* 229

CHAP. XVI.

Of Buchanan's Forgeries—Death; and Regret for his Calumnies heaped on Mary ..... page 248

CHAP. XVII.

Of Queen Elizabeth—Anecdotes from Sir Robert Naunton—Elizabeth's Vanity, and Maiden Resolves—Of her Gallants—Of the celebrated Letter from Mary to Elizabeth, regarding the Countess of Shrewsbury's Gossip—Of Walsingham's Treachery—Of Lady Shrewsbury—Part of a Letter from Elizabeth to Mary—Melville flatters Elizabeth—His Detail of her Manners—Her loose Conduct—Her Favourites—Of Raleigh's Venus and Diana in her Sixty-first Year—Her Love to Simier, and the Duke of Anjou, his Master—Anecdotes 258

CHAP. XVIII.

Most Affecting Letter from Mary to Elizabeth, intended for Posterity—Mary appeals to God, and reviews Elizabeth's Breach of Faith, and Cruelty 305

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Babington Conspiracy—Is discovered by Walsingham—Conspirators seized and punished—Mary implicated—All England indignant against Mary in consequence—Elizabeth determined to proceed to the utmost Extremities against her—Her Domestics and Papers seized—Elizabeth determines to try Mary publicly—The Trial at Fotheringay—Mary at first refuses, then consents to plead—The Accusation against her—Her Defence—The Sentence—Is confirmed by Parliament, which demands Execution—Elizabeth dissembles—France and James interpose to save his Mother's Life—Warrant for Mary's Execution signed—Mary's Behaviour at her Death—Her Character—Her Death lamented by Elizabeth 322

CHAP. XX.

Of Davison the Secretary, and his Apology for the part he had in the signing of the Death-Warrant—Elizabeth condemned by his Detail of the Proceedings thereon 367

INTRODUCTION.

By way of Introduction, the Editor judges it not improper to give a few outlines of the ancient history of Scotland, leading to a connected view of the principal facts and characters concerned in those transactions which give rise to the following case.

Mary Stuart, the lineal descendant of a long race of kings, was the only daughter of James King of Scotland, the fifth of that name, and Mary of Lorraine, daughter of René Duke of Guise. Her misfortunes may be said to have begun at her birth, by the death of her father, who died five days after that event, leaving her and his kingdom in the midst of an ocean of storms and tempests which threatened them on every hand.

The government of this kingdom was from very remote antiquity monarchical and hereditary. As the feudal system was introduced very early among a fierce and brave race of men, addicted to war, and fond of signalizing themselves in the field under the banners of their chieftains; these officers, who were possessed of large estates, descendant in their families, and of a numerous vassalage, were, when united, at all times more powerful than their monarch: hence a perpetual jealousy subsisted between the king and nobles.

James the Fifth, the father of Queen Mary, a high-spirited prince, endued with many accomplishments, and beloved by his people, formed a plan for lessening the power of the nobles. He began by ingratiating himself with the clergy, who at that time formed one of the three

estates of the kingdom; and, by the liberality of the ancient Scottish monarchs, were possessed of great revenues annexed to the church. James repaired his fortresses, filled them with men, arms, and ammunition. He then, by degrees, began to restrain the insolence of some of the nobility, and, under various pretexts, to call them to account. The Earl of Angus, the head of the ancient and potent family of Douglas, was attainted for treason, and the Earl of Bothwell was banished into France for holding a treasonable correspondence with the King of England. By these and other examples, the resentment of the nobility was awakened, which soon showed itself in a very extraordinary manner.

Henry the Eighth, King of England, having declared war against James his nephew, this last having summoned his chieftains to attend his standard in defence of the kingdom, they obeyed, and marched to repel the English army, which had entered Scotland. These, through scarcity of provisions and the inclemency of the season, being obliged to retire before the Scots; James, at the head of his army, leading them on to the attack, his nobles, with their vassals, followed him, until they saw the enemy repass the limits of the kingdom, beyond which, to the great mortification of the King, they refused to advance a step. On the return of the season, James again called together an army, with design, in his turn, to invade the English territories, and gave the command to Oliver Sinclair, as general. On this the army, by the influence of their chieftains, not only refused to follow him, but on the first attack, surrendered without a stroke to the English. This suprising event discovered to the King the disaffection of his Barons, who in all probability were gained over to the interest of the English monarch, and his own inability to reduce them to obedience. A conflict of passions took place in his breast, and impaired his health; and the sudden death of his two sons

happening at this time, these concurring disasters brought this high-spirited Prince to an early grave. He died at the age of thirty-three years, leaving behind him one infant daughter, Mary, the heiress of his crown.

James, with a few failings, had much merit in his attempts to reform the manners of his kingdom, and to enact good laws. The courts of justice, which were unfixed and arbitrary, he made permanent and regular. He established the Supreme Court of Session, under the name of The College of Justice, and encouraged learning and arts, in which he was himself well skilled, particularly in poetry and architecture. Most of the royal palaces were repaired by him; so that it is said few kings in Europe were more elegantly lodged than King James V. Of his poetry there are, according to tradition, some remains, which are esteemed by his countrymen.

On the death of James V. the kingdom was divided by faction: the clergy, from their concurrence in the King's measures, were detested by the nobility, who now assumed the ascendant. The Queen-Mother, a woman of prudence and fine parts, at first wisely took no part in government, but studied to ingratiate herself with all. The nobility unanimously made choice of the Duke of Chatelherault, the next heir to the crown, to be regent of the kingdom during the infancy of the Queen.

The new opinions with regard to religion, first introduced by Luther into Germany, had before this time got footing in England. King Henry the Eighth's love for Anne Boleyn, is well known to have been his motive for quarrelling with the Pope, who refused his sanction to the King's divorce with Queen Catherine, and to his marriage with Anne. Henry, on this, renounced the Pope's authority, declared himself the head of the English church, and gave encouragement to the new, or reformed religion. Henry, at the same time, gratified another passion—avarice. By abo-

lishing the abbeys and monasteries throughout his kingdom, he became master of an immense treasure, which for ages had been accumulated in those sanctuaries. Some time before the death of James, Henry his uncle had proposed an interview and conference with him at York; but this was prevented by the Scottish Clergy, who, afraid of the consequence, had influence with James, to keep him steady to the Catholic religion. Many of the nobility, on the other hand, from their hatred of the Clergy, but still more from a view of sharing in their rich benefices, and in the spoils of the religious foundations, which, on the King's death, and while his infant daughter was under age, they looked upon as a proper opportunity to lay hold of, became converts to the new religion. Cardinal Beaton, Primate of Scotland, who had long been prime minister to James, foreseeing the growth of the new opinions, had, by many severe examples, in vain endeavoured to put a stop to its progress. The purity of the principles, and simplicity in the worship of the Protestant religion, the unshaken firmness of its converts, shown in the midst of torments, served only to disseminate and establish their principles, while it excited in the populace rage and hatred against the Cardinal and Popish Clergy.

Many divines, who in the late reign had, on account of their principles, fled the kingdom, and taken refuge at Geneva, where they had become disciples of Calvin, now came over to Scotland, and professed and taught his doctrines. Their hatred against the tyrannic Cardinal, whom they considered as the author of their persecution, prompted a few desperate fanatics to assault his castle of St. Andrew's, where they barbarously murdered him. His death was a fatal blow to the Catholic religion, which in him lost its chief support; for, although the Regent, Duke of Chatelherault, adhered to that religion, yet he wanted the parts and firmness of the primate. Such was the unsettled state of

the kingdom with regard to religion, after the death of King James V.

With regard to the political state of Scotland, we must go back to a few traces of its more ancient history, in order to throw light upon the present era. The Scottish monarchs, besides what properly was the kingdom of Scotland, had, from a very remote antiquity, been in possession of some of the northern provinces of England; such as part of Northumberland and Cumberland, which they held as fiefs, and did homage for them to the English crown. Upon pretext of this partial homage, the English monarchs at different eras made pretensions to the sovereignty of the kingdom of Scotland, as its superiors, or lords paramount. The Scots, ever jealous of their liberty and independence, constantly rejected with disdain, this absurd and ill-founded claim. The many obstinate wars between the English and Scots, which this claim occasioned, are well known in the histories of both kingdoms.

The policy and arms of Edward I. though they embroiled the country for many years, were effectually resisted by the patriotic efforts and heroism of its defenders: and this prince, while he transmitted upon his death-bed, an empty claim of sovereignty over Scotland to his feeble successor, left him a legacy from which he derived nothing but dishonour. The defeat of the English by King Robert Bruce at Bannockburn, and their total extirpation from the kingdom, lulled asleep for a considerable time those chimerical pretensions: and they were afterwards solemnly renounced, with the consent of parliament, by the high-spirited Edward III. who, even in his treaty with his captive David II. considered the nation as free, and the Sovereign as an independent Prince. Thus matters remained till the accession of Henry VIII. who after many years attempted to revive this antiquated claim, and endeavoured by force of arms to accomplish the entire conquest of Scotland. This design,

however, he found himself soon obliged to abandon. The Scots were now united; their martial spirit and bravery, the situation of the country, and the assistance they might derive from France, with which they kept a perpetual league, convinced Henry of the improbability of his succeeding in his scheme by force of arms. He followed another plan: the people he could not subdue, he chose to divide. By gold he found means to corrupt and gain over to his interest some of the Scottish nobility, who formed a faction which divided and embroiled the kingdom. We have already seen its effect in some strong instances in the latter part of the reign of James V. particularly their misbehaviour at Solway Moss. Now, by the same means, that faction was cherished and kept up in the infancy of his daughter Queen Mary. This base policy, followed out by Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry, through the whole unfortunate reign of Queen Mary, we shall see traced in the following statement, which finally brought that Princess to the scaffold. To this corrupt party were now joined several of the heads of the reformed, who, under the pretence of religion, had not only the view of disturbing and perplexing government, but likewise that of sharing in the spoils of the church, which they successfully laboured to overturn. The infancy of the Queen, and the weakness of the regent Duke of Chatelherault, opened a new view to the politic King Henry. By making an overture of marriage between his son Edward and the infant Queen, he flattered himself with the hopes of uniting the two kingdoms under his sway. Finding, however, his proposal not relished by the patriot Scots, who through it foresaw an end to the independency of their country, he prepared to enforce his scheme by invading Scotland with a numerous army—when death put a stop to his career.

The Duke of Somerset being named Protector during the non-age of the young Edward VI. followed out the scheme

of the late King. With a great army he suddenly invaded Scotland; and coming to an engagement with the Scots at Pinkey, gave them a great defeat. From this success, however, the English derived no advantage; the Scots, by their defeat, became united, and exasperated against the English; and to put an end at once to any future attempt of a marriage with their young Queen, by the address of the Queen-Mother, Mary of Lorraine, an embassy was sent to Henry II. of France, soliciting his assistance against the English, with an offer of the infant Queen in marriage to the Dauphin Francis, his son. From the ancient league between France and Scotland, which had subsisted from the time of Charlemagne, reciprocal advantages were derived to each nation. The offer now made, of their Queen in marriage, was with joy accepted by the King of France; in consequence of which, the infant Mary was, at the age of six years, sent over to that kingdom, where she acquired every accomplishment, in the most polite court in Europe, that could adorn a princess.—TYTLER.

N. B. Her marriage with Francis, and her subsequent widowhood followed, after she had sat with her husband some time on the French throne. During that period, it is supposed she gave offence to the Queen-Mother, Catherine de Medicis, who never after forgave her; but actually annoyed her so much, as to induce Mary reluctantly to embark for Scotland.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS,

AND

ELIZABETH.

CHAP. I.

Of the House of Lorraine, and its bad Counsels to Mary's Mother, the Queen Regent, and the Consequences—The Earl of Glencairn, and Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudon, chosen by the Scottish Protestants to represent the Impropriety of the Queen Regent's Conduct—Her imprudent Answer, and Bloody Determination.

THIS chapter may fairly be called a commencement, or first link in the chain of evidence, to show the grounds on which Elizabeth acted all through the tragedy.

The ambition of the Princes of Lorraine had been no less successful than daring; but all their schemes were distinguished by being vast and unbounded. Though strangers at the court of France, their eminent qualities had raised them, in a short time, to an height of power superior to that of all other subjects, and had placed them on a level even with the princes of the blood themselves. The church, the army, the revenue, were under their direction. Nothing but the royal dignity remained unattained, and they were elevated to a near alliance with it, by the marriage of the Queen of Scots to the Dauphin. In order to gratify

their own vanity, and to render their niece more worthy the heir of France, they set on foot her claim to the Crown of England, which was founded on pretences not unplausible.

The tragical amours and marriages of Henry VIII. are known to all the world. Moved by the caprices of his love, or of his resentment, that impatient and arbitrary monarch had divorced or beheaded four of the six Queens whom he married. In order to gratify him, both his daughters had been declared illegitimate by act of parliament; and yet, with that fantastic inconsistence which distinguishes his character, he, in his last will, whereby he was empowered to settle the order of succession, called both of them to the throne upon the death of their brother Edward; and, at the same time, passing by the posterity of his eldest sister Margaret Queen of Scotland, he appointed the line of succession to continue in the descendants of his younger sister, the Duchess of Suffolk.

In consequence of this destination, the validity whereof was admitted by the English, but never recognised by foreigners, Mary had reigned in England without the least complaint of neighbouring princes. But the same causes which facilitated her accession to the throne, were obstacles to the elevation of her sister Elizabeth, and rendered her possession of it precarious and insecure. Rome trembled for the Catholic faith, under a Protestant Queen of such eminent abilities. The same superstitious fears alarmed the Court of Spain. And France beheld with indignation, a throne, to which the Queen of Scots could form so many pretensions, occupied by a rival, whose birth, in the opinion of all good Catholics, excluded her from any legal right of succession. The impotent

hatred of the Roman Pontiff, or the slow councils of Philip II. would have produced no sudden or formidable effect. The ardent and impetuous ambition of the Princes of Lorraine, who at that time governed the Court of France, was more decisive, and more to be dreaded. Instigated by them, Henry, soon after the death of Mary, persuaded his daughter-in-law and her husband, to assume the title of King and Queen of England. They affected to publish this to all Europe. They used that style and appellation in public papers, some of which still remain. The arms of England were engraved on their coin and plate, and borne by them on all occasions. No preparations, however, were made to support this impolitic and premature claim. Elizabeth was already seated on her throne; she possessed all the intrepidity of spirit, and all the arts of policy, which were necessary for maintaining that station. England was growing into reputation for naval power. The marine of France had been utterly neglected; and Scotland remained the only avenue by which the territories of Elizabeth could be approached. It was on that side, therefore, that the Princes of Lorraine determined to make their attack; and by using the name and pretensions of the Scottish Queen, they hoped to rouse the English Catholics, formidable at that time by their zeal and numbers, and exasperated to the utmost against Elizabeth, on account of the change which she had made in the national religion.

It was vain to expect the assistance of the Scottish Protestants to dethrone a Queen, whom all Europe esteemed the guardian and defender of the reformed faith. To break the power and reputation of that party in Scotland, became, for this reason, a neces-

sary step towards the invasion of England. With this the Princes of Lorraine resolved to open their scheme. And as persecution was the only method for suppressing religious opinions, known in that age, or dictated by the despotic and sanguinary spirit of the Romish superstition, this, in its utmost violence, they determined to employ. The Earl of Argyll, the Prior of St. Andrew's, and other leaders of the party, were marked out by them for immediate destruction; and they hoped, by punishing them, to intimidate their followers. Instructions for this purpose were sent from France to the Queen Regent. That humane and sagacious Princess condemned a measure which was equally violent and impolitic. By long residence in Scotland, she had become acquainted with the eager and impatient temper of the nation; she well knew the power, the number, and popularity of the Protestant leaders, and had been a witness to the intrepid and unconquerable resolution which religious fervour could inspire. What then could be gained by rousing this dangerous spirit, which, hitherto, all the arts of policy had scarce been able to restrain? If it once broke loose, the authority of a Regent would be little capable to subdue, or even to moderate its rage. And if, in order to quell it, foreign forces were called in, this would give the alarm to the whole nation, irritated already at the excessive power which the French possessed in the kingdom, and suspicious of all their designs. Amidst the shock which this might occasion, far from hoping to exterminate the Protestant doctrine, it would be well if the whole fabric of the Established Church were not shaken, and perhaps overturned from the foundation. These prudent remonstrances made no impression on her brothers: precipitant, but in-

flexible in all their resolutions, they insisted on the full and rigorous execution of their plan. Mary, passionately devoted to the interest of France, and ready on all occasions to sacrifice her own opinions to the inclinations of her brothers, prepared to execute their commands with implicit submission; and, contrary to her own judgment, and to all the rules of sound policy, she became the instrument of exciting civil commotions in Scotland, which ended with the ruin of the French power, and of the Popish religion in that kingdom.

From the time of the Queen's competition for the Regency with the Duke of Chatelherault*, the Popish clergy, under the direction of the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, had set themselves in opposition to all her measures. Her first step towards the execution of her new scheme, was to regain their favour. Nor was this reconcilement a matter of difficulty. The Popish ecclesiastics, separated from the rest of mankind by the law of celibacy, the boldest and most successful invention of human policy, and combined among themselves in the closest and most sacred union, have been accustomed in every age to sacrifice all private and particular passions to the dignity and interest of their order. Delighted on this occasion with the prospect of triumphing over a faction, whose encroachments they had long dreaded, and animated with the hopes of re-establishing their declining grandeur on a firmer basis, they at once cancelled the memory of past injuries, and engaged to second the Queen in all her attempts to check the progress of the Reformation. The Queen, being secure of their assistance, openly

* Hamilton.

approved of the decrees of the Convocation, by which the principles of the Reformers were condemned; and at the same time she issued a proclamation, enjoining all persons to observe the approaching festival of Easter according to the Romish ritual.

As it was no longer possible to mistake the Queen's intentions, the Protestants, who saw the danger approach, in order to avert it, employed the Earl of Glencairn, and Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudon, to expostulate with her concerning this change towards severity; which their former services had so little merited, and which her reiterated promises gave them no reason to expect: she, without disguise or apology, avowed to them her resolution of extirpating the Reformed Religion out of the kingdom. And upon their urging her former engagements, with an uncourtly, but honest boldness, she so far forgot her usual moderation, as to utter a sentiment, which, however apt those of royal condition may be to entertain it, prudence should teach them to conceal as much as possible. "The promises of princes," says she, "ought not to be too carefully remembered, nor the performance of them exacted, unless it suits their own conveniency."

The indignation, which betrayed the Queen into this rash expression, was nothing in comparison of that with which she was animated, upon hearing that the public exercise of the Reformed Religion had been introduced into the town of Perth. At once she threw off the mask, and commanded all the Protestant preachers in the kingdom to be summoned to a court of justice, which was to be held at Stirling on the 10th of May. The Protestants, who from their union began about this time to be distinguished by the name

of the Congregation, were alarmed, but not intimidated by this danger, and instantly resolved not to abandon the men to whom they were indebted for the most valuable of all blessings, the knowledge of truth. At that time there prevailed in Scotland, with respect to criminal trials, a custom, introduced at first by the institutions of vassalage and clanship, and tolerated afterwards under a feeble government—any person accused of a crime, was accompanied to the place of trial by a retinue of his friends and adherents, assembled for that purpose from every corner of the kingdom. Authorized by this ancient practice, the Reformed convened in great numbers, to attend their pastors to Stirling. The Queen dreaded their approach with a train so numerous, though unarmed, and in order to prevent them from advancing, she empowered John Erskine of Dun, a person of eminent authority with the party, to promise, in her name, that she would put a stop to the intended trial, on condition the preachers and their retinue advanced no nearer to Stirling. Erskine, being himself convinced of the Queen's sincerity, served her with the utmost zeal. And the Protestants, averse from proceeding to any act of violence, listened with pleasure to so pacific a proposition. The preachers, with a few leaders of the party, remained at Perth; the multitude, which had gathered from different parts of the kingdom, dispersed, and retired to their own habitations.

But, notwithstanding this solemn promise, the Queen, on the 10th of May, proceeded to call to trial the persons who had been summoned, and upon their non-appearance, the rigour of justice took place, and they were pronounced outlaws. By this ignoble artifice, so incompatible with real dignity, and so incon-

sistent with that integrity which should prevail in all transactions between sovereigns and their subjects; the Queen forfeited the esteem and confidence of the whole nation. The Protestants, shocked no less at the indecency, with which she violated the public faith, than at the danger which threatened themselves, prepared boldly for their own defence. Erskine, enraged at having been made the instrument for deceiving his party, instantly abandoned Stirling, and repairing to Perth, added to the zeal of his associates, by his representations of the Queen's inflexible resolution to suppress their religion.

The popular rhetoric of Knox powerfully seconded his representations: he having been carried a prisoner into France, together with the other persons taken in the castle of St. Andrew's, soon made his escape out of that country; and residing sometimes in England, sometimes in Scotland, had, at last, been driven out of both kingdoms by the rage of the Popish clergy, and was obliged to retire to Geneva. Thence he was called by the leaders of the Protestants in Scotland; and, in compliance with their solicitations, he set out for his native country, where he arrived a few days before the trial appointed at Stirling. He hurried instantly to Perth, to share with his brethren in the common danger, or to assist them in promoting the common cause. While their minds were in that ferment, which the Queen's perfidiousness and their own danger occasioned, he mounted the pulpit, and by a vehement harangue against idolatry, inflamed the multitude with the utmost rage. The indiscretion of a priest, who, immediately after Knox's sermon, was preparing to celebrate mass, and began to decorate the altar for that purpose, precipitated them into im-

mediate action. With tumultuary, but irresistible violence, they fell upon the churches in that city, overturned the altars, defaced the pictures, broke in pieces the images; and proceeding next to the monasteries, they, in a few hours, laid those sumptuous fabrics almost level with the ground. This riotous insurrection was not the effect of any concert, or previous deliberation: censured by the reformed preachers, and publicly condemned by the persons of most power and credit with the party, it must be regarded merely as an accidental eruption of popular rage.

But to the Queen herself, these proceedings appeared in a very different light. Besides their manifest contempt for her authority, the Protestants had violated every thing in religion, which she esteemed venerable or holy; and, on both these accounts, she determined to inflict the severest vengeance on the whole party. She had already drawn the troops in French pay, to Stirling; with these, and what Scottish forces she could levy of a sudden, she marched directly to Perth, in hopes of surprising the Protestant leaders, before they could assemble their followers, whom out of confidence in her disingenuous promises they had been rashly induced to dismiss. Intelligence of these preparations and menaces was soon conveyed to Perth. The Protestants would gladly have soothed the Queen, by addresses both to herself, and to the persons of greatest credit in her court; but finding her inexorable, they, with great vigour, took measures for their own defence. Their adherents, animated with zeal for religion, and eager to expose themselves in so good a cause, flocked in such numbers to Perth, that they not only secured the town from danger, but, within a few days, were in a condition to take the field, and to

face the Queen, who advanced with an army 7000 strong.

Neither party, however, was impatient to engage. The Queen dreaded the event of a battle with men, whom the fervour of religion raised above the sense of fear, or of danger. The Protestants beheld with regret, the Earl of Argyll, the Prior of St. Andrew's, and some other eminent persons of their party, still adhering to the Queen; and destitute of their aid and counsel, declined hazarding an action, the ill success of which might have proved the ruin of their cause. The prospect of an accommodation was, for these reasons, highly acceptable to both sides: Argyll and the Prior, who were the Queen's commissioners for conducting the negotiation, seem to have been sincerely desirous of reconciling the contending factions; and the Earl of Glencairn and Sir Hugh Campbell arriving unexpectedly with a powerful reinforcement to the Congregation, augmented the Queen's eagerness for peace. A treaty was accordingly concluded, in which it was stipulated, that both armies should be disbanded, and the gates of Perth set open to the Queen; that indemnity should be granted to the inhabitants of that city, and to all others concerned in the late insurrection; that no French garrison should be left in Perth, and no French soldier should approach within three miles of that place; and that a parliament should immediately be held, in order to compose whatever differences might still remain.—ROBERTSON.

CHAP. II.

Of Settlements of the Scottish Crown, said to have been made by Mary whilst under the influence of her Uncle the Cardinal of Lorraine, in France.

AMONG the ordinary historians or libellers of these times, or those who have since transcribed their inventions, some papers have appeared of late, which argue that there were very perfidious underhand dealings carried on at that time at the Court of France, to wit, that they induced Queen Mary to subscribe three several private deeds of a very extraordinary nature. By one of which, in case she should die without children, she makes over the kingdom of Scotland to the King of France for the time then being, and to his heirs, together with any right that might afterwards devolve upon her to the kingdom of England; and this on account of her maintenance and other great expences made by the Kings of France on her behalf. By another, in case of her decease without children, she pledges the kingdom of Scotland to the King of France, till he should be reimbursed of a million of gold, (ecus, or crowns, I suppose), which she did, as the writing bears, by advice of her uncles, the Cardinal of Lorraine and Duke of Guise: but the former mentions no such advice or consent: both bear to have been accepted for the King of France and his successors by the Cardinal de Sens, chancellor of that kingdom. By the third she declares, that whatever accord or consent she had made, or should make, to the articles and instructions sent by the three estates of her kingdom, and especially concerning the succes-

sion in case of her decease without children, her will and intention was, that these dispositions made by her in favour of the King of France, should remain entire and have full effect: in this the Dauphin also joins, and subscribes along with her. All the three papers are dated the 4th day of April, 1557, before Easter, and signed below by Clausse and Bourdin, who are called in the body of each paper, notaries and secretaries of the crown of France.

Queen Mary's misfortunes sprung chiefly from such sources as make other sovereign princes most adored, and their people most happy, that she was born to succeed to great dominions, and that she was endowed with extraordinary goodness and a merciful disposition. Because she was born to inherit three kingdoms, her enemies gave out that she had several times disposed of them, in prejudice, not only of the collateral line, but even of her own son. Thus the Prince of Condé, in order to induce Elizabeth Queen of England to assist him the more effectually to usurp the throne of France, under the pretext of setting up the Protestant religion, causes that Queen be informed in the month of December, 1568, "that the Cardinal de Lorraine, upon account of Queen Mary his niece, and to Popery in England, had prevailed with his said niece to make a cession of her right to the crown of England, to Monsieur the King of France his brother; (that is, to Henry Duke of Anjou, afterwards King of France and Poland), and that the Pope had confirmed the gift, and given the investiture thereupon, for which purpose one Hannibal Rocheline had been sent away in haste*."

* Haynes's State Papers, p. 474.

As if this had not been enough, after the Queen was murdered, a story was spread, "that she had left England to the King of Spain, by her testament written with her own hand the night before the murder, in case her son should not become Roman Catholic. That this testament came to the hands of Cardinal de Lauro, protector of the kingdom of Scotland, who having examined it, by comparing it with letters which he had formerly received from the Queen; and having made Lewis Owen Bishop of Casan to put his seal to it, together with himself, as a certain and undoubted deed, he delivered it to the Count de Olivarez, to be by him transmitted to the King of Spain." This story was first broached in England; for I have at present in my hand, a pretended copy of a letter from the Queen to Don Bernardino de Mendoza, bearing date 26th May, 1586, subscribed by Cecil, Hatton, and Walsingham, whereby she is made to acquaint him that she intended to make such a testament; desiring him to let the King his master know so much, but no other person. The three subscriptions above-mentioned are for testifying that they had such an authentic letter before them, from which they made this transcript; and yet it is pretty plain there had not been two of them present together at signing it; for they all subscribe with different ink. Cecil subscribes in the same ink with which the paper is written, which serves to discover from whence it proceeded. It seems to have been sent down to Secretary Maitland, in order to raise in King James a bad notion of his mother's affection to him.

The next time that we hear of this matter is by the Abbé Pignerol, in his Life of the Cardinal de Lauro, whose servant he had been. Then the story is re-

peated by Monsieur de Thou. Lastly, Dr. Gilbert Burnet having got that life of the Cardinal, he exulted as if he had found a vast treasure, and inserted the Abbé Pignerol's tale in his collection of papers, as an unanswerable evidence that the Queen had left England to the King of Spain. I can think of no better or readier way to refute all these idle stories, than by producing the real testament, written by the Queen the night before her death, which I purpose to do before this volume be ended; and I hope it will be found more probative than Cecil's letter, or the Abbé Pignerol's tale.

As to the Prince of Condé's information, who knows but we may have such papers yet trumped up of that cession to Henry Duke of Anjou, as we mentioned of the cession said to have been made to the Dauphin? I make no doubt but the Prince of Condé was capable enough of getting his information made good, so far as the writing two or three papers could go, if he had thought by that to come nearer to his purpose. The crown of France was no small temptation, and both he and his brother had gone pretty great lengths under the then common pretext of reforming religion, to cut off all the sons of King Henry II. to make way for themselves; which at last was one way or other effectuated in the days of his nephew. His own designs are very conspicuous, from his getting himself crowned by his followers as King of France, while the throne was yet full, and coining gold in his own name with this modest inscription, *Ludovicus Dei gratia Francorum rex primus christianus.* Doubtless a king so completely christian, was capable to coin any thing for attaining so high ends.

To return to the papers said to be the Queen's gift

of her kingdom of Scotland to the King of France, failing heirs of her own body. The third of these papers was printed in the year 1693, among a collection of treaties with France, published by Frederick Leonard, in six volumes in quarto. For the second time it appeared in a larger collection of treaties published at Amsterdam, in four volumes in folio, the year 1700; and lastly, in Du Mont's Corps Diplomatique.

The writer of it, whoever he was, seems to have committed a slip, not easily to be accounted for, on supposition that the paper is genuine; for the Queen is made to alledge the war then presently breaking out betwixt France and England, as a cause why she made that deed: *vû mememement le tems present de l'ouverture de la guerre au royaume d'Angleterre.* But the war with England had broke out in June, 1557, and the French had the worst of it, till the Duke of Guise got the chief command of the French armies in December that year, who, before the end of January preceding the date of these papers, had taken Calais, Guines, and the fort of Hames from the English, and driven them altogether out of the places which for a long time they had held in France. Therefore, to speak of that war on the 4th of April, 1558, as only breaking out, doth not look very well. It seems the later editors were of this opinion, for which reason they took the liberty to expunge the words, *de l'ouverture*, which are both in the manuscript copies, and first edition in print.

The second paper bears expressly, that it was granted by the advice of her uncles, the Cardinal of Lorraine and Duke of Guise. Had it been so, one of them, as her curators, ought to have signed it along

with her, and to have affixed his seal, as they used to do in all her real deeds of importance, both before and after this pretended gift. If it had been a real deed, this would not have been omitted, for without this it was less valid.

It is not easy to believe that the King of France, who was himself also one of Queen Mary's curators, would have accepted of such an illegal and invalid deed in his own favour, from his pupil and intended daughter-in-law, when at the age of fifteen years, whom he himself ought to have dissuaded from granting any deed of the like nature. And these loose detached papers so carelessly executed, are not sufficient to load the King of France and his ministers with so much injustice and weakness, unless their credit could be supported by some overt act or extrinsic adminicle; for it is not to be supposed that they would have drawn up such illegal, null, and infamous papers, that could serve to no manner of purpose but to reflect dishonour on all parties concerned in them. But even could it be made appear that they certainly did do, the blame ought to lie entirely at their own door, and no imputation for that matter ought to be cast upon the young Queen, who was entirely under their direction, and at their disposal.—GOODALL.

N. B. Goodall is probably a little biassed; and we should read what he says with a proper allowance for prejudice.

CHAP. III.

Of Mary's return from France, and supposed Origin of the Discord between her and Elizabeth, who refuses her a safe Conduct—Mary escapes from the English Fleet sent to intercept her, and arrives in Scotland—State of that Kingdom.

In the mean time, Mary was in no haste to return into Scotland. Accustomed to the elegance, splendour, and gaiety of a polite court, she still fondly lingered in France, the scene of all these enjoyments, and contemplated, with horror, the barbarism of her own country, and the turbulence of her subjects, which presented her with a very different face of things. The impatience, however, of her people, the persuasions of her uncles, but above all, the studied and mortifying neglect with which she was treated by the Queen-Mother, forced her to think of beginning this disagreeable voyage. But while she was preparing for it, there were sown between her and Elizabeth, the seeds of that personal jealousy and discord, which embittered the life, and shortened the days, of the Scottish Queen.

The ratification of the late treaty of Edinburgh, was the immediate occasion of this fatal animosity: the true causes of it lay much deeper. Almost every article in that treaty, had been executed, by both parties, with a scrupulous exactness. The fortifications of Leith were demolished, and the armies of France and England withdrawn within the appointed time. The grievances of the Scottish malecontents were redressed, and they had obtained whatever they could demand for their future security. With regard

to all these, Mary could have little reason to decline, or Elizabeth to urge, the ratification of the treaty.

The sixth article remained the only source of contest and difficulty. No minister ever entered more deeply into the schemes of his sovereign, or pursued them with more dexterity and success, than Cecil. In the conduct of the negotiation at Edinburgh, the sound understanding of this able politician had proved greatly an overmatch for Monluc's refinements in intrigue, and had artfully induced the French ambassadors, not only to acknowledge that the crowns of England and Ireland did of right belong to Elizabeth alone, but also to promise, that in all times to come, Mary should abstain from using the titles, or bearing the arms of those kingdoms.

The ratification of this article would have been of the most fatal consequence to Mary. The Crown of England was an object worthy of her ambition. Her pretensions to it gave her great dignity and importance in the eyes of all Europe. By many, her title was esteemed preferable to that of Elizabeth. Among the English themselves, the Roman Catholics, who formed, at that time, a numerous and active party, openly espoused this opinion; and even the Protestants, who supported Elizabeth's throne, could not deny the Queen of Scots to be her immediate heir. A proper opportunity to avail herself of all these advantages, could not, in the course of things, be far distant, and many incidents might fall in, to bring this opportunity nearer than was expected. In these circumstances, Mary, by ratifying the article in dispute, would have lost that rank which she had hitherto held among neighbouring princes; the zeal of her adherents must have gradually cooled; and she might have renounced, from

that moment, all hopes of ever wearing the English crown.

None of these beneficial consequences escaped the penetrating eye of Elizabeth, who, for this reason, had recourse to every thing, by which she could hope either to soothe or frighten the Scottish Queen into a compliance with her demands; and if that Princess had been so unadvised as to ratify the rash concessions of her ambassadors, Elizabeth, by that deed, would have acquired an advantage, which, under her management, must have turned to great account. By such a renunciation, the question, with regard to the right of succession, would have been left altogether open and undecided; and, by means of that, Elizabeth might either have kept her rival in perpetual anxiety and dependence, or, by the authority of her parliament, she might have broken in upon the order of lineal succession, and transferred the crown to some other descendant of the royal blood. The former conduct she observed towards James VI. whom, during his whole reign, she held in perpetual fear and subjection. The latter, and more rigorous method of proceeding, would, in all probability, have been employed against Mary, whom, for many reasons, she both envied and hated.

Nor was this step beyond her power, unprecedented in the history, or inconsistent with the constitution of England. Though succession by hereditary right be an idea so natural and so popular, that it has been established almost in every civilized nation, yet England affords many memorable instances of deviations from that rule. The crown of that kingdom having once been seized by the hand of a conqueror, this invited the bold and enterprising in every age to imitate such an illustrious example of fortunate ambition.

From the time of William the Norman, the regular course of descent had seldom continued through three successive reigns. Those princes, whose intrigues or valour opened to them a way to the throne, called in the authority of the great council of the nation to confirm their dubious titles. Hence, parliamentary and hereditary right became in England of equal consideration. That great assembly claimed, and actually possessed, a power of altering the order of regal succession; and even so late as Henry VIII. an act of parliament had authorized that capricious monarch to settle the order of succession at his pleasure. The English, jealous of their religious liberty, and averse from the dominion of strangers, would have eagerly adopted the passions of their sovereign, and might have been easily induced to exclude the Scottish line from the right of succeeding to the crown. These seem to have been the views of both Queens, and these were the difficulties which retarded the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh.

But, if the sources of their discord were to be traced no higher than this treaty, an inconsiderable alteration in the words of it, might have brought the present question to an amicable issue. The indefinite and ambiguous expression, which Cecil had inserted into the treaty, might have been changed into one more limited, but more precise; and Mary, instead of promising to abstain from bearing the title of Queen of England, in all times to come, might have engaged not to assume that title, during the life of Elizabeth, or the lives of her lawful posterity.

Such an amendment, however, did not suit the views of either Queen. Though Mary had been obliged to suspend, for some time, the prosecution of her title to

the English crown, she had not however relinquished it. She determined to revive her claim, on the first prospect of success, and was unwilling to bind herself, by a positive engagement, not to take advantage of any such fortunate occurrence. Nor would the alteration have been more acceptable to Elizabeth, who, by agreeing to it, would have tacitly recognized the right of her rival to ascend the throne after her decease. But neither the Scottish nor English Queen durst avow these secret sentiments of their hearts. Any open discovery of an inclination to disturb the tranquillity of England, or to wrest the sceptre out of Elizabeth's hands, might have proved fatal to Mary. Any suspicion of a design to alter the order of succession, and to set aside the claim of the Scottish Queen, would have exposed Elizabeth to much and deserved censure, and have raised up against her many and dangerous enemies. These, however carefully concealed, or artfully disguised, were, in all probability, the real motives which determined the one Queen to solicit, and the other to refuse the ratification of the treaty, in its original form; while neither had recourse to that explication of it, which to an heart unwarped by political interest, and sincerely desirous of union and concord, would have appeared so obvious and natural.

But though considerations of interest first occasioned this rupture between the British Queens, rivalship of another kind contributed to widen the breach, and female jealousy increased the violence of their political hatred. Elizabeth, with all those extraordinary qualities, by which she equalled or surpassed, such of her sex as have merited the greatest renown, discovered an admiration of her own person, to a degree, which women of ordinary understandings either do not enter-

tain, or prudently endeavour to conceal. Her attention to dress, her solicitude to display her charms, her love of flattery, were all excessive. Nor were these weaknesses confined to that period of life, when they are more pardonable. Even in very advanced years, the wisest woman of that, or perhaps of any other age, wore the garb, and affected the manners of a girl.

Though Elizabeth was as much inferior to Mary, in beauty, and gracefulness of person, as she excelled her in political abilities, and in the arts of government, she was weak enough to compare herself with the Scottish Queen; and as it was impossible she could be altogether ignorant how much Mary gained by the comparison, she envied and hated her, as a rival by whom she was eclipsed. In judging of the conduct of princes, we are apt to ascribe too much to political motives, and too little to the passions which they feel in common with the rest of mankind. In order to account for Elizabeth's present, as well as her subsequent conduct towards Mary, we must not always consider her as a Queen, we must sometimes regard her as a woman.

Elizabeth, though no stranger to Mary's difficulties with respect to the treaty, continued to urge her by repeated applications to ratify it. Mary, under various pretences, still contrived to gain time, and to elude the request. But while the one Queen solicited with persevering importunity, and the other evaded with artful delay, they both studied an extreme politeness of behaviour, and loaded each other with professions of sisterly love, with reciprocal declarations of unchangeable esteem and amity.

It was not long before Mary was convinced that, among princes, these expressions of friendship are

commonly far distant from the heart. In sailing from France to Scotland, the course lies along the English coast. In order to be safe from the insults of the English fleet, or in case of tempestuous weather, to secure a retreat in the harbours of that kingdom, Mary sent M. D'Oysel to demand of Elizabeth a safe conduct during her voyage. This request, which decency alone obliged one prince to grant to another, Elizabeth rejected, in such a manner as gave rise to no slight suspicion of a design, either to obstruct the passage, or to intercept the person of the Scottish Queen*.

This ungenerous behaviour of Elizabeth filled Mary with indignation, but did not retard her departure from France. She was accompanied to Calais, the place where she embarked, in a manner suitable to her dignity as the Queen of two powerful kingdoms. Six Princes of Lorraine, her uncles, with many of the most eminent among the French nobles, were in her retinue. Catherine, who secretly rejoiced at her departure, graced it with every circumstance of magnificence and respect. After bidding adieu to her mourning attendants, with a sad heart, and eyes bathed in tears, Mary left that kingdom, the short but only scene of her life in which fortune smiled upon her. While the French coast continued in sight, she intently gazed upon it, and musing in a thoughtful posture on that height of fortune whence she had fallen, and presaging, perhaps, the disasters and calamities which embittered the remainder of her days, she sighed often, and cried out, "Farewell France! Farewell beloved country, which I shall never more behold!" Even when

* Keith, 171. Camden.

the darkness of the night had hid the land from her view, she would neither retire to the cabin, nor taste food, but commanding a couch to be placed on the deck, she there waited the return of day with the utmost impatience. Fortune soothed her on this occasion: the galley made little way during the night.

In the morning the coast of France was still within sight, and she continued to feed her melancholy with the prospect; and as long as her eyes could distinguish it, to utter the same tender expressions of regret*. At last a brisk gale arose, by the favour of which for some days, and afterward under the covert of a thick fog, Mary escaped the English fleet, which lay in wait to intercept her; and on the 19th of August, after an absence of near thirteen years, landed safely at Leith, in her native kingdom.

Mary was received by her subjects with shouts and acclamations of joy, and with every demonstration of welcome and regard. But as her arrival was unexpected, and no suitable preparation had been made for it, they could not with all their efforts hide from her the poverty of the country, and were obliged to conduct her to the palace of Holyrood-house with little pomp. The Queen, accustomed from her infancy to splendour and magnificence, and fond of them, as was natural at her age, could not help observing the change in her situation, and seemed to be deeply affected with it.

Never did any prince ascend the throne at a juncture which called for more wisdom in council, or more courage and steadiness in action. The rage of reli-

* Brantome, 483. He himself was in the same galley with the Queen.

gious controversy was still unabated. The memory of past oppression exasperated the Protestants; the smart of recent injuries rendered the Papists desperate; both were zealous, fierce, and irreconcileable.

The absence of their sovereign had accustomed the nobles to independence; and during the late commotions, they had acquired such an increase of wealth, as threw great weight into the scale of the aristocracy, which stood not in need of any accession of power. The kingdom had long been under the government of regents, who exercised a delegated jurisdiction, attended with little authority, and which inspired no reverence. A state of pure anarchy had prevailed for the two last years, without a regent, without a supreme council, without the power, or even the form of a regular government. A licentious spirit, unacquainted with subordination, and disdaining the restraints of law and justice, had spread among all ranks of men. The influence of France, the ancient ally of the kingdom, was withdrawn or despised.

The English, of enemies become confederates, had grown into confidence with the nation, and had gained an ascendant over all its councils. The Scottish monarchs did not derive more splendour or power from the friendship of the former, than they had reason to dread injury and diminution from the interposition of the latter. Every consideration, whether of interest, or of self-preservation, obliged Elizabeth to depress the royal authority in Scotland, and to create the Prince perpetual difficulties, by fomenting the spirit of disaffection among the people.

In this posture were the affairs of Scotland, when the administration fell into the hands of a young

Queen, not nineteen years of age, unacquainted with the manners and laws of her country, a stranger to her subjects, without experience, without allies, and almost without a friend.

On the other hand, in Mary's situation we find some circumstances, which, though they did not balance these disadvantages, contributed, however, to alleviate them; and with skilful management, might have produced great effects. Her subjects, unaccustomed so long to the residence of their Prince, were not only dazzled by the novelty and splendour of the royal presence, but inspired with awe and reverence. Besides the places of power and profit bestowed by the favour of a Prince, his protection, his familiarity, and even his smiles, confer honour, and win the hearts of men. From all corners of the kingdom the nobles crowded to testify their duty and affection to their sovereign, and studied by every art to wipe out the memory of past misconduct, and to lay in a stock of future merit. The amusements and gaiety of her court, which was filled with the most accomplished of the French nobility, who had attended her, began to soften and to polish the rude manners of the nation.

Mary herself possessed many of these qualifications, which raise affection, and procure esteem. The beauty and gracefulness of her person drew universal admiration, the elegance and politeness of her manners commanded general respect. To all the charms of her own sex, she added many of the accomplishments of the other. The progress she had made in all the arts and sciences, which were then esteemed necessary or ornamental, was far beyond what is com-

monly attained by princes; and all her other qualities were rendered more agreeable by a courteous affability, which, without lessening the dignity of a prince, steals on the hearts of subjects with a bewitching insinuation.—ROBERTSON.

CHAP. IV.

Of Mary's Claim to the English Crown—Elizabeth supports the Scottish Protestants during Mary's stay in France—Her Brother, James Stuart Earl of Murray, and George Buchanan, his Tutor—Her Ideas of a Marriage with Lord Darnley her Cousin.

FROM the time that Henry VIII. had formally renounced the Papal authority, and declared himself the head of the English Church, that nation had alternately fluctuated between the Catholic and Protestant religion. The short reign of the cruel and bigotted Mary of England, was a continued scene of persecution and bloodshed to the Protestants; the effect of which, instead of extinguishing, added numbers of converts to their principles. On the succession of Elizabeth to the throne, the Protestant religion was established by law.

The Catholics, who were numerous, although they made no opposition to the accession of Elizabeth, yet trembled at the innovations which they saw introduced into the religion and laws of the kingdom, by a Queen of her ability, and the head of the new religion. In their situation, and as Elizabeth had shown her aversion to Mary, it was natural for them to turn their eyes to Queen Mary of Scotland, the next lineal heir to the

crown, whom they also considered as the head and protectress of the Catholics. An incident which happened about this time, awakened and called forth that resentment of Elizabeth against the Queen of Scots, which was the source of all her misfortunes.

The Pope, and the Catholic Princes on the Continent, had always considered King Henry the Eighth's marriage with Anne Boleyn, in the life-time of his wife Queen Catherine, as criminal and illegal, according to the act of the parliament of England; and in consequence, Elizabeth, the issue of that marriage, as of spurious birth. On the marriage of the young Queen of Scots with the Dauphin Francis, his father, King Henry II. of France, began to look with envy and indignation, at seeing the Crown of England, to which he persuaded himself that Queen Mary, his daughter-in-law, had so good a claim, possessed by Elizabeth, whose illegitimate birth was sufficient to have excluded her from it. By instigation of the King of France, and the ambition of the Princes of Lorraine, Mary's uncles, the Queen of Scots and her husband the Dauphin, were persuaded to assume the title and arms of King and Queen of England.

A claim thus declared, without ability to make it good, was weak and foolish, and served no beneficial purpose; on the contrary, it called the attention of the Queen of England to her own situation, and incited her to guard against the designs that she suspected might be carried on against her, both by the Catholic Princes abroad, and by her own subjects at home, over whom, during her whole reign, she held a steady and strict hand; and against her rival Queen Mary, it kindled that hatred and resentment, which was quenched only by her blood.

In the time of the late Queen Regent, and while Mary was in France, Elizabeth had supported the Protestants in Scotland, and supplied them both with money and troops, by which they were enabled, in the end, to overturn the Popish religion, and to establish the Protestant in its room.

Although the pretext was religion, yet the heads of the party had deeper designs in view; no less than the dethroning their Queen, and seizing the reins of government.

The part which Queen Elizabeth took in the conspiracies carried on for this purpose, is developed in the following statement: who were the principal actors in them, shall now be mentioned.

James Stuart, Prior of St. Andrew's, the natural son of the late King James V., showed a very early design upon the crown. He was, by the will of his father, destined and educated for the church, and endowed with the Priory of St. Andrew's, one of the richest benefices in the kingdom, with a view of preventing him from interfering in the secular affairs of state. But the infancy of the Queen at her father's death, her absence from Scotland, and the growing strength of the new religion, to which the Prior, from politic views, had early become a convert, and of which he affected to be the head, opened to his ambition the dazzling prospect of a crown! He was possessed of excellent parts, a penetrating genius, and of great intrepidity and ambition: those last qualities he carefully covered, under the disguise of sanctity and religion. Such was the Queen's natural brother. He had, by his munificence, very early attached to his service the celebrated George Buchanan, one of the greatest geniuses of the age, an adept in clas-

sical learning, an eminent historian, and a fine Latin poet.

But these distinguished qualities of the head, were balanced by the defects of his heart! *Has tantas animi dotes vitia æquabant.*—On the young Queen's coming over to her own dominions, she heaped extraordinary favours both upon the Prior and his tutor Buchanan: upon the first she conferred the Earldom of Mar, and soon after created him Earl of Murray, with one of the highest revenues in Scotland, and appointed him her first minister. As to Buchanan, she had invited him from France, with the view of his taking the charge of the education of her infant son, and in the mean time she settled on him a pension of 500*l.* during his life; which, at that time, was of more value than any ecclesiastical living at this day in Scotland. Yet these were not sufficient to bind to their duty men, who, without principle, were instigated solely by their views of ambition. How humiliating to human vanity! What a reproach to the human heart! that the same hand that penned the beautiful dedicatory Poem to Queen Mary*; which wrote that immortal Paraphrase of the Psalms, should, soon after, be prostituted to defame

* "Nympha, Caledoniæ quæ nunc feliciter oræ
Missa per innumeros sceptra tueris avos:
Quæ sortem antevenis meritis, virtutibus annos,
Sexum animis, morum nobilitate genus:
Accipe (sed facilis) cultu donata Latino
Carmina, fatidici nobile regis opus,
Illa quidem, Cyrrha procul & Permesside lympha,
Pæne sub Arctoi sidere nata poli:
Non tamen ausus eram male natum exponere fœtum,
Ne mihi displiceant quæ placuere tibi.
Nam quod ab ingenio domini sperare nequibant,
Debebunt genio forsitan illa tuo."

his sovereign by a most false and calumnious libel, in order to pave the way for his patron the Earl of Murray's advancement to the Regency of the kingdom! That end accomplished, and Murray's ambition pointing directly to the throne, Buchanan, in that view, wrote his famous Dialogue, *"De Jure Regni apud Scotos,"* in which he endeavours to prove, that a right to elect to the throne, was in the people*.

Two other persons, who make an eminent figure in the history of those times, associated themselves with the Prior in his scheme of ambition: Douglas Earl of Morton, and William Maitland of Lethinton, then Secretary of State, both of them of the new religion, of eminent parts, bold, restless, and aspiring! Fit instruments for the Prior, and capable of overturning a greater and more settled state than that of Scotland at that time.

Those men Queen Mary, on her coming to Scotland, found to have great weight with the people, and with the leading divines of the Protestants. She therefore, to remove the people's jealousy and fears on account of their religion, with great mildness, thought it proper to continue them as her ministers and counsellors. She little knew, that at that time all of them were secretly enlisted in the service of Queen Elizabeth, and deeply engaged in a conspiracy with that Princess against their own sovereign, for overturning her government. The evidence of this design is brought to light in the following pages; but, observe—

* This book was, in James the Sixth's reign, (1584), condemned by parliament to the flames, as containing principles subversive of the constitution, and of all good government. Buchanan wrote this piece soon after Queen Mary's imprisonment, and about the time that Murray was made Regent.—*Goodall*, vol. i. p. 128.

Queen Mary had now been three years in Scotland, when the cares of government, and the thoughts of providing for the succession of the kingdom in her family, suggested to her a marriage with her nearest relation in blood, Henry Stuart Lord Darnley, the eldest son of the Earl of Lennox, who likewise was first cousin to the Queen of England. In her choice, she not only followed her own inclination, as Henry was one of the handsomest young men in the kingdom, but likewise the will of her father King James, who had signified in his last moments his wishes of this marriage. Fortunate might it have been, had the qualities of Henry's mind been proportionate to his form; but unhappily they turned out the reverse! Of mean understanding, he was headstrong and insolent, and addicted to vicious pleasures.—TYTLER.

He forgot—*Virtus anteit omnibus rebus.*—EDITOR.

CHAP. V.

Proposed Interview between Mary and Elizabeth—Mary solicited to marry into the House of Austria—Subsequently by several other Princes—The Views of Elizabeth; and of Mary's Subjects on that occasion.

In the beginning of summer, Mary, who was desirous of entering into a more intimate correspondence and familiarity with Elizabeth, employed Maitland to desire a personal interview with her, somewhere in the north of England. As this proposal could not be rejected with decency, the time, the place, and the circumstances of the meeting were instantly agreed upon. But Elizabeth was prudent enough not to admit into her kingdom, a rival who outshone herself, so far in beauty and gracefulness of person; and who excelled so eminently, in all the arts of insinuation and address. Under pretence of being confined to London, by the attention which she was obliged to give to the civil wars in France, she put off the interview for that season, and prevented her subjects from seeing the Scottish Queen, the charms of whose appearance and behaviour she envied, and had some reason to dread.

During this year, the Assembly of the Church met twice. In both these meetings were exhibited many complaints of the poverty and dependence of the church; and many murmurs against the negligence or avarice of those, who had been appointed to collect, and to distribute, the small fund appropriated for the maintenance of preachers. A petition, craving redress of their grievances, was presented to the Queen; but

without any effect. There was no reason to expect that Mary would discover any forwardness to grant the requests of such supplications. And as her ministers, though all most zealous Protestants, were themselves growing rich on the inheritance of the church, they were equally regardless of the indigence and demands of their brethren.

Mary had now continued above two years in a state of widowhood. Her gentle administration had secured the hearts of her subjects, who were impatient for her marriage, and wished the crown to descend in the right line from their ancient monarchs. She herself was the most amiable woman of the age, and the fame of her accomplishments, together with the favourable circumstance of her having one kingdom already in her possession, and the prospect of mounting the throne of another, prompted many different Princes to solicit an alliance so illustrious. Scotland, by its situation, threw so much weight and power into whatever scale it fell, that all Europe waited with solicitude for Mary's determination; and no event in that age excited stronger political fears and jealousies; none interested more deeply the passions of several Princes, or gave rise to more contradictory intrigues, than the marriage of the Scottish Queen.

The Princes of the House of Austria remembered what vast projects the French had founded on their former alliance with the Queen of Scots; and though the unexpected death, first of Henry, and then of Francis, had hindered these from taking effect, yet if Mary should again make choice of a husband among the French Princes, the same designs might be revived and prosecuted with better success.

In order to prevent this, the Emperor entered into

a negotiation with the Cardinal of Lorraine, who had proposed to marry the Scottish Queen to the Archduke Charles, Ferdinand's third son. The matter was communicated to Mary; and Melvil, who at that time attended the Elector Palatine, was commanded to enquire into the character and situation of the Archduke.

Philip II. though no less apprehensive of Mary's falling once more into the hands of France, envied his uncle Ferdinand the acquisition of so important a prize; and as his own insatiable ambition grasped at all the kingdoms of Europe, he employed his ambassador at the French court, to solicit the Princes of Lorraine in behalf of his son Don Carlos, at that time the heir of all the extensive dominions which belonged to the Spanish monarchy.

Catherine of Medicis, on the other hand, dreaded the marriage of the Scottish Queen with any of the Austrian Princes, which would have added so much to the power and pretensions of that ambitious race. Her jealousy of the Princes of Lorraine, rendered her no less averse from an alliance, which, by securing them the protection of the Emperor, or King of Spain, would give new boldness to their enterprising spirit, and enable them to set the power of the crown, which they already rivalled, at open defiance: and as she was afraid that these splendid proposals of the Austrian family would dazzle the young Queen, she instantly dispatched Castelnau into Scotland, to offer her in marriage the Duke of Anjou, the brother of her former husband, who soon after mounted the throne of France.

Mary attentively weighed the pretensions of so many rivals. The Archduke had little to recommend him, but his high birth. The example of Henry VIII. was

a warning against contracting a marriage with the brother of her former husband; nor could she bear the thoughts of appearing in France, in a rank inferior to that which she had formerly held in that kingdom. She listened therefore, with partiality, to the Spanish propositions, and the prospect of such vast power and dominions flattered the ambition of a young and aspiring Princess.

Three several circumstances, however, concurred to divert Mary from any thoughts of a foreign alliance. The first of these was the murder of her uncle the Duke of Guise. The violence and ambition of that nobleman had involved his country in a civil war; which was conducted with furious animosity, and various success. At last the Duke laid siege to Orleans, the bulwark of the Protestant cause; and he had reduced that city to the last extremity, when he was assassinated by the frantic zeal of Poltrot. This blow proved fatal to the Queen of Scots. The young Duke was a minor; and the Cardinal of Lorraine, though subtle and intriguing, wanted that undaunted and enterprising courage, which rendered the ambition of his brother so formidable. Catherine, instead of encouraging the ambition, or furthering the pretensions of her daughter-in-law, took pleasure in mortifying the one, and in disappointing the other. In this situation, and without such a protector, it became necessary for Mary to contract her views, and to proceed with caution; and whatever prospect of advantage might allure her, she could venture upon no dangerous or doubtful measure.

The second circumstance which weighed with Mary, was the opinion of the Queen of England. The marriage of the Scottish Queen interested Elizabeth more

deeply than any other prince, and she observed all her deliberations concerning it with the most anxious attention. She herself seems early to have formed a resolution of living unmarried, and she discovered no small inclination to impose the same law on the Queen of Scots. She had already experienced what use might be made of Mary's power and pretensions, to invade her dominions, and to disturb her possession of the crown. The death of Francis II. had happily delivered her from this danger, which she determined to guard against for the future with the utmost care. As the restless ambition of the Austrian Princes, the avowed and bigotted patrons of the Catholic superstition, made her, in a particular manner, dread their neighbourhood, she instructed Randolph to remonstrate in the strongest terms against any alliance with them, and to acquaint Mary, that as she herself would consider such a match to be a breach of the personal friendship in which they were so happily united, so the English nation would regard it as the dissolution of that confederacy which now subsisted between the two kingdoms: that in order to preserve their own religion and liberties, they would in all probability take some step prejudicial to her right of succession, which, as she well knew, they neither wanted power nor pretences to invalidate and set aside. This threatening was accompanied with a promise, but expressed in very ambiguous terms, that if Mary's choice of a husband should prove agreeable to the English nation, Elizabeth would appoint proper persons to examine her title to the succession, and if well founded, command it to be publicly recognized. She observed, however, a mysterious silence concerning the person on whom she wished the choice of the Scottish Queen

to fall. The revealing of this secret was reserved for some future negotiation. Meanwhile she threw out some obscure hints, that a native of Britain, or one not of princely rank, would be her safest and most inoffensive choice. An advice offered with such an air of superiority and command, mortified, no doubt, the pride of the Scottish Queen. But, under her present circumstances, she was obliged to bear this indignity. Destitute of all foreign assistance, and intent upon the English succession, the great object of her wishes and ambition, it became necessary to court a rival, whom, without manifest imprudence, she could not venture to offend.

The inclination of her own subjects was another, and not the least considerable circumstance, which called for Mary's attention at this conjuncture. They had been taught by the fatal experiment of her former marriage, to dread an union with any great prince, whose power might be employed to oppress their religion and liberties. They trembled at the thoughts of a match with a foreigner; and if the crown should be strengthened by new dominions or alliances, they foresaw that the royal prerogative would soon be stretched beyond its ancient and legal limits. Their eagerness to prevent this could scarce fail of throwing them into the arms of England. Elizabeth would be ready to afford them her aid towards obstructing a measure so disagreeable to herself. 'Twas easy for them to seize the person of the Sovereign. By the assistance of the English fleet, they could render it difficult for any foreign prince to land in Scotland. The Roman Catholics, now an inconsiderable party in the kingdom, and dispirited by the loss of the Earl of Huntly, could give no obstruction to their designs. To what violent

extremes the national abhorrence of a foreign yoke might have been carried, is manifest from the transactions both previous, and subsequent to the present period.

For these reasons, Mary laid aside, at that time, all thoughts of foreign alliance, and seemed willing to sacrifice her own ambition, in order to remove the jealousies of Elizabeth, and to quiet the fears of her own subjects.—ROBERTSON.

CHAP. VI.

Negotiations with regard to the Queen's Marriage—Elizabeth recommends Leicester to Mary for an Husband—Mary offended—Elizabeth's Views in recommending him—Mary thinks of Lord Darnley—Elizabeth secretly pleased—Elizabeth and Mary each dissemble about the Marriage—Darnley arrives, and is beloved by Mary, who soon marries him—Of Rizzio's Rise—Darnley esteems him—Elizabeth angry at the Match—Approved of by France—Elizabeth intrigues.

THE marriage of the Scottish Queen continued still to be the object of attention and intrigue. Though Elizabeth, even while she wished to direct Mary, treated her with a disgustful reserve, though she kept her, without necessity, in a state of suspense, and hinted often at the person whom she destined to be her husband, without directly mentioning his name, yet Mary framed all her actions to express such a prudent respect for the English Queen, that foreign princes began to imagine she had given herself up implicitly to her direction. The prospect of this union

alarmed Catherine of Medicis. Though Catherine had taken pleasure all along in doing ill offices to the Queen of Scots; though, soon after the Duke of Guise's death she had put upon her a most mortifying indignity, by stopping the payment of her dowry, by depriving her subject the Duke of Chatelherault of his pension, and by bestowing the command of the Scottish Guards on a Frenchman; she resolved, however, to prevent this dangerous conjunction of the British Queens. For this purpose, she now employed all her art to appease Mary, to whom she had given so many causes of offence. The arrears of her dowry were instantly paid; more punctual remittances were promised for the future; and offers made, not only to restore, but to extend the privileges of the Scottish nation in France. It was easy for Mary to penetrate into the motives of this sudden change; she well knew the character of her mother-in-law, and laid little stress upon professions of friendship, which came from a princess of such a false and unfeeling heart.

The negotiation with England, relative to the marriage, suffered no interruption from this application of the French Queen. As Mary, in compliance to her subjects, and pressed by the strongest motives of interest, determined speedily to marry, Elizabeth was obliged to break that unaccountable silence which she had hitherto affected. The secret was disclosed, and her favourite Lord Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester, was declared to be the happy man whom she had chosen to be the husband of a Queen courted by so many princes.

Elizabeth's wisdom and penetration were remarkable in the choice of her ministers; in distinguishing her favourites, those great qualities were less conspicuous,

She was influenced in two cases so opposite, by merit of very different kinds. Their capacity for business, their knowledge, their prudence, were the talents to which alone she attended, in choosing her ministers; whereas beauty and gracefulness of person, polished manners, and courtly address, were the accomplishments on which she bestowed her favour. She acted in the one case with the wisdom of a Queen, in the other, she discovered the weakness of a woman. To this Leicester owed his grandeur. Though remarkable neither for eminence in virtue, nor superiority of abilities, the Queen's partiality distinguished him on every occasion. She raised him to the highest honours, she bestowed on him the most important employments, and manifested an affection so disproportionate to his merit, that, in the opinion of that age, it could be accounted for only by the power of planetary influence*.

The high spirit of the Scottish Queen could not well bear the first overture of a match with a subject. Her own rank, the splendour of her former marriage, and the solicitations, at this time, of so many powerful princes, crowded into her thoughts, and made her sensibly feel how humbling and disrespectful Elizabeth's proposal was. She dissembled, however, with the English resident; and though she declared, in strong terms, what a degradation she would deem this alliance, which brought along with it no advantage that could justify such neglect of her own dignity, she mentioned the Earl of Leicester, notwithstanding, in terms full of respect†.

Elizabeth, we may presume, did not wish that the

* Camden, 549. † Keith, 252.

proposal should be received in any other manner. After the extraordinary marks she had given of her own attachment to Leicester, and while he was still in the very height of favour, it is not probable she could think seriously of bestowing him upon another. 'Twas not her aim to persuade, but only to amuse Mary*. Almost three years were elapsed since her return into Scotland; and though solicited by her subjects, and courted by the greatest princes in Europe, she had hitherto been prevented from marrying, chiefly by the artifices of Elizabeth. And if, at this time, the English Queen could have engaged Mary to listen to her proposal in favour of Leicester, her power over this creature of her own, would have enabled her to protract the negotiation at pleasure; and by keeping her rival unmarried, she would have rendered the prospect of her succession less acceptable to the English.

Leicester's own situation was extremely delicate and embarrassing. To gain possession of the most amiable woman of the age; to carry away this prize from so many contending princes; to mount the throne of an ancient kingdom, might have flattered the ambition of a subject much more considerable than him. He saw all these advantages, no doubt; and, in secret, they made their full impression on him. But, without offending Elizabeth, he durst not venture on the most distant discovery of his sentiments, or take any step towards facilitating his acquisition of objects so worthy of desire.

On the other hand, Elizabeth's partiality towards him, which she was at no pains to conceal, might

* Melv. 104, 105.

inspire him with hopes of attaining the supreme rank in a kingdom more illustrious than Scotland. Elizabeth had often declared, that nothing but her resolution to lead a single life, and his being born her own subject, would have hindered her from choosing the Earl of Leicester for a husband. Such considerations of prudence are, however, often surmounted by love; and Leicester might flatter himself, that the violence of her affection would at length triumph both over the maxims of policy, and the scruples of pride. These hopes induced him, now and then, to conclude the proposal of his marriage with the Scottish Queen to be a project for his destruction; and he imputed it to the malice of Cecil, who, under the specious pretence of doing him honour, intended to ruin him in the good opinion both of Elizabeth and Mary.

A treaty of marriage, proposed by one Queen, who dreaded its success; listened to by another, who was secretly determined against it; and scarce desired by the man himself, whose interest and reputation it was calculated, in appearance, to promote; could not, under so many unfavourable circumstances, be brought to a fortunate issue. Both Elizabeth and Mary continued, however, to act with equal dissimulation. The former, notwithstanding her fears of losing Leicester, solicited warmly in his behalf. The latter, though she began about this time to cast her eyes upon another subject of England, did not, at once, venture finally to reject Elizabeth's favourite.

The person towards whom Mary began to turn her thoughts was Henry Stuart Lord Darnley, eldest son of the Earl of Lennox. That nobleman having been driven out of Scotland under the regency of the Duke

of Chatelherault, had lived in banishment for twenty years. His wife, Lady Margaret Douglas, was Mary's most dangerous rival in her claim upon the English succession. She was the daughter of Margaret, the eldest sister of Henry VIII. by the Earl of Angus, whom that Queen married after the death of her husband James IV. In that age, the right and order of succession was not settled with the same accuracy as at present. Time, and the decision of almost every case that can possibly happen, have at last introduced certainty into a matter, which, naturally, is subject to all the variety arising from the caprice of lawyers, guided by obscure and often imaginary analogies. Lady Lennox, though born of a second marriage, was one degree nearer the royal blood of England than Mary. She was the daughter, Mary only the grand-daughter of Margaret. This was not the only advantage over Mary which Lady Lennox enjoyed. She was born in England, and by a maxim of law in that country, with regard to private inheritances, "whoever is not born in England, or at least of parents, who, at the time of his birth, were in the obedience of the King of England, cannot enjoy any inheritance in the kingdom." This maxim, Hale, an English lawyer, produced in a treatise which he published at this time, and endeavoured to apply it to the right of succession to the crown. In a private cause, these pretexts might have given rise to a long and doubtful litigation; where a crown was at stake, such nice disputes and subtleties were to be avoided with the utmost care. If Darnley should happen to contract an alliance with any of the powerful families in England, or should publicly profess the Protestant

religion, these plausible and popular topics might be so urged, as to prove fatal to the pretensions of a foreigner, and of a Papist.

Mary was aware of all this; and in order to prevent any danger from that quarter, had early endeavoured to cultivate a friendly correspondence with the family of Lennox. In the year 1562, both the Earl and the Lady Margaret were taken into custody by Elizabeth's orders, on account of their holding a secret correspondence with the Scottish Queen.

From the time that Mary became sensible of the difficulties which would attend her marrying a foreign prince, she entered into a still closer connexion with the Earl of Lennox, and invited him to return into Scotland. This she endeavoured to conceal from Elizabeth; but a transaction of so much importance, did not escape the notice of that discerning princess. She observed, but did not interrupt it. Nothing could fall in more perfectly with her views concerning Scottish affairs. She was pleased to see the pride of the Scottish Queen stoop, at last, to the thoughts of taking a subject to her bed. Darnley was in no situation to excite her jealousy or her fears. His father's estate lay in England, and by means of this pledge, she hoped to keep the negotiation entirely in her own hands; to play the same game of artifice and delay, which she had planned out if her recommendation of Leicester had been more favourably received.

As before the union of the two crowns, no subject of one kingdom could pass into the other without the permission of both sovereigns; no sooner did Lennox, under pretence of prosecuting his wife's claim upon the earldom of Angus, apply to Elizabeth for her license to go into Scotland, than he obtained it. To-

gether with it, she gave him letters warmly recommending his person and cause to Mary's friendship and protection. But, at the same time, as it was her manner to involve all her transactions with regard to Scotland in some degree of perplexity and contradiction, she warned Mary that this indulgence to Lennox might prove fatal to herself, as his return could not fail of reviving the ancient animosity between him and the house of Hamilton.

This admonition gave umbrage to Mary, and drew from her an angry reply, which occasioned for some time a total interruption of all correspondence between the two Queens. Mary was not a little alarmed at this; she both dreaded the effects of Elizabeth's resentment, and felt sensibly the disadvantage of being excluded from a free intercourse with England, where her ambassadors had all along carried on with some success secret negotiations, which increased the number of her partizans, and paved her way towards the throne. In order to remove the causes of the present difficulty, Melvil was sent express to the Court of England. He found it no difficult matter to bring about a reconcilement, and soon re-established the appearance, but not the confidence of friendship, which was all that had subsisted for some time between the two Queens.

During this negotiation, Elizabeth's professions of love to Mary, and Melvil's replies in name of his mistress, were made in the language of the warmest and most cordial friendship. But what Melvil truly observes, with respect to Elizabeth, may be extended without injustice to both Queens: "There was neither plain dealing, nor upright meaning, but great dissimulation, envy, and fear."

Lennox, however, in consequence of the license

which he had obtained, set out for Scotland, and was received by the Queen, not only with the respect due to a nobleman so nearly allied to the royal family, but treated with a distinguished familiarity, which could not fail of inspiring him with more elevated hopes. The rumour of his son's marriage to the Queen began to spread over the kingdom, and the eyes of all Scotland were turned upon him as the father of their future master. The Duke of Chatelherault was the first to take the alarm. He considered Lennox as the ancient and hereditary enemy of the house of Hamilton; and in his grandeur saw the ruin of himself and his friends. But the Queen interposed her authority to prevent any violent rupture, and employed all her influence to bring about an accommodation of their differences.

The powerful family of Douglas no less dreaded Lennox's return, from an apprehension that he would wrest the earldom of Angus out of their hands. But the Queen, who well knew how dangerous it would be to irritate Morton, and other great men of that name, prevailed on Lennox to purchase their friendship, by allowing his lady's claim upon the earldom of Angus to drop.

After these preliminary steps, Mary ventured to call a meeting of parliament. The act of forfeiture passed against Lennox in the year 1545, was repealed, and he was publicly restored to the honours and estate of his ancestors.

Two years had already been consumed in fruitless negotiations concerning the marriage of the Scottish Queen. Mary had full leisure and opportunity to discern the fallacy and deceit of all Elizabeth's pro-

ceedings, with respect to that affair. But, in order to set the real intentions of the English Queen in a clear light, and to bring her to some explicit declaration of her sentiments, Mary, at last, intimated to Randolph, that, on condition her right of succession to the crown of England were publicly acknowledged, she was ready to yield to the solicitations of his mistress in behalf of Leicester. Nothing could be farther than this from the mind and intention of Elizabeth. The right of succession was a mystery, which, during her whole reign, her jealousy preserved untouched, and unexplained. She had promised, however, when she first began to interest herself in the marriage of the Scottish Queen, all that was now demanded. How to retreat with decency, how to elude her former offer, was, on that account, not a little perplexing.

The facility with which Lord Darnley obtained permission to visit the Court of Scotland, was owing, in all probability, to that embarrassment. From the time of Melvil's embassy, Lady Lennox had warmly solicited this liberty for her son. Elizabeth was no stranger to the ambitious hopes with which that young nobleman flattered himself. She had received repeated advices from her ministers, of the sentiments which Mary began to entertain in his favour. It was entirely in her power to prevent his stirring out of London. In the present conjuncture, however, nothing could be of more advantage to her, than Darnley's journey into Scotland. She had already brought one actor upon the stage, who, under her management, had for a long time amused the Scottish Queen. She hoped no less absolutely to direct the motions of Darnley, who was likewise her subject; and again to

involve Mary in all the tedious intricacies of negotiation. These motives determined Elizabeth and her ministers to yield to the solicitations of Lady Lennox.

But this deep laid scheme was in a moment disconcerted. Such unexpected events as the fancy of poets ascribes to love, are, at some times, really produced by that passion. An affair which had been the object of so many political intrigues, and had moved and interested so many princes, was at last decided by the sudden liking of two young persons. Lord Darnley was at this time in the first bloom and vigour of youth. In beauty and gracefulness of person, he surpassed all his cotemporaries; he excelled, eminently, in such arts as add ease and elegance to external form, and which enable it not only to dazzle, but to please. Mary was of an age and of a temper to feel the full power of these accomplishments. The impression which Lord Darnley made upon her was visible from the time of their first interview. The whole business of the court was to amuse, and entertain this illustrious guest; and in all those scenes of gaiety, Darnley, whose qualifications were altogether superficial and showy, appeared to great advantage. His conquest of the Queen's heart became complete, and inclination now prompted her to conclude a marriage, the first thoughts of which had been suggested by considerations merely political.

Elizabeth contributed, and perhaps not without design, to increase the violence of this passion. Soon after Darnley's arrival in Scotland, she, in return to that message whereby Mary had signified her willingness to accept of Leicester, gave an answer in such terms as plainly unravelled her original intention in that intrigue. She promised, if the Scottish Queen's marriage

with Leicester should take place, to advance him to great honours; but with regard to her title to the English succession, she would neither suffer any legal inquiry to be made concerning it, nor permit it to be publicly recognized, till she herself should declare her resolution never to marry. Notwithstanding Elizabeth's former promises, Mary had reason to expect every thing contained in this reply; her high spirit, however, could not bear with patience such a cruel discovery of the contempt, the artifice, and mockery with which, under the veil of friendship, she had been so long abused. She burst into tears of indignation, and expressed with the utmost bitterness, her sense of that disingenuous craft which had been employed to deceive her.

The natural effect of this indignation was, to add to the impetuosity with which she pursued her own scheme. Blinded by resentment, as well as by love, she observed no defects in the man whom she had chosen, and began to take the necessary steps towards accomplishing her design, with all the impatience natural to those passions.

As Darnley was so nearly related to the Queen, the canon law made it necessary to obtain the Pope's dispensation, before the celebration of the marriage. For this purpose, she early set on foot a negotiation with the Court of Rome.

She was busy, at the same time, in procuring the consent of the French King and his mother. Having communicated her design, and the motives which determined her choice, to Castelnau the French ambassador, she employed him, as the most proper person, to bring his court to fall in with her views. Among other arguments to this purpose, Castelnau mentioned

Mary's attachment to Darnley, which he represented to be so violent and deep-rooted, that it was no longer in her own power to break off the match. Nor were the French ministers backward in encouraging Mary's passion. Her pride would never stoop to an alliance with a subject of France. By this choice, they were delivered from the apprehension of a match with any of the Austrian princes, as well as the danger of too close an union with Elizabeth; and as Darnley professed the Roman Catholic religion, this suited the bigotted schemes which that court had adopted.

While Mary was endeavouring to reconcile foreign courts to a measure which she had so much at heart; Darnley, and his father, by their behaviour, were raising up enemies at home, to obstruct it. Lennox had, during the former part of his life, discovered no great compass of abilities, or political wisdom; and appears to have been a man of a weak understanding, and violent passions. Darnley was not superior to his father in understanding, and all his passions were still more impetuous. To these, he added that insolence, which the advantage of external form, when accompanied with no quality more valuable, is apt to inspire. Intoxicated with the Queen's favour, he began already to assume the haughtiness of a king, and to put on that imperious air, which majesty itself can scarce render tolerable.

It was by the advice, or at least with the consent of Murray and his party, that Lennox had been invited into Scotland; and yet, no sooner did he acquire a firm footing in that kingdom, than he began to enter into secret cabals with those noblemen, who were known to be avowed enemies to Murray; and with regard to religion, to be either neutrals, or favourers

of Popery. Darnley, still more imprudent, allowed some rash expressions concerning those favours, which the Queen's bounty had conferred upon Murray, to escape him.

But, above all these, the familiarity which Darnley cultivated with David Rizzio the Italian, contributed to increase the suspicion and disgust of the nobles.

The low birth, and indigent condition of this man, placed him in a station, in which he ought naturally to have remained unknown to posterity. But what fortune called him to act, and to suffer in Scotland, obliges history to descend from its dignity, and to record his adventures. He was the son of a musician in Turin, and having accompanied the Piedmontese ambassador into Scotland, gained admission into the Queen's family, by his skill in music. His servile condition had taught him suppleness of spirit, and insinuating manners. He quickly crept into the Queen's favour; and her French secretary happening to return at that time into his own country, was preferred by her to that office. He now began to make a figure in court, and to appear as a man of weight and consequence. The whole train of suitors and expectants, who have an extreme sagacity in discovering the paths which lead most directly to success, applied to him. His recommendations were observed to have great influence over the Queen, and he grew to be considered not only as a favourite, but as a minister. Nor was Rizzio careful to abate that envy, which always attends such an extraordinary and rapid change of fortune. He studied, on the contrary, to display the whole extent of his favour. He affected to talk often, and familiarly, with the Queen in public. He equalled the greatest and most opulent subjects, in richness of dress,

and in the number of his attendants. He discovered, in all his behaviour, that assuming insolence, with which unmerited prosperity inspires an ignoble mind. It was with the utmost indignation that the nobles beheld the power; it was with the utmost difficulty, that they tolerated the arrogance of this unworthy minion. Even in the Queen's presence they could not forbear treating him with marks of contempt. Nor was it his exorbitant power alone, which exasperated the Scots. They considered him, and not without reason, as a dangerous enemy to the Protestant religion, and suspected that he held for this purpose, a secret correspondence with the Court of Rome*.

It was Darnley's misfortune to fall under the management of this man, who, by flattery and assiduity, easily gained on his vanity and inexperience. Rizzio's whole influence on the Queen was employed in his behalf, and contributed, without doubt, towards establishing him more firmly in her affections. But whatever benefit he might reap from his patronage, it did not counterbalance the contempt, and even the infamy, to which he was exposed, on account of his familiarity with such an upstart.

Though Darnley daily made progress in the Queen's affections, she conducted herself, however, with such prudent reserve, as to impose on Randolph, the English resident, a man otherwise shrewd and penetrating. It appears from his letters at this period, that he entertained not the least suspicion of the intrigue which was carrying on; and gave his court repeated assurances, that the Scottish Queen had no design of marrying Darnley. In the midst of his security, Mary dispatched

* Buchan. 340. Melv. 107.

Maitland to signify her intention to Elizabeth, and to solicit her consent to the marriage with Darnley. This embassy was the first thing which opened the eyes of Randolph.

Elizabeth affected the greatest surprise at this sudden resolution of the Scottish Queen, but without reason. The train was laid by herself, and she had no cause to wonder when it took effect. She expressed, at the same time, her disapprobation of the match, in the strongest terms; and pretended to foresee many dangers and inconveniences arising from it, to both kingdoms. But this, too, was mere affectation. Mary had often and plainly declared her resolution to marry. It was impossible she could make any choice more inoffensive. The danger of introducing a foreign interest into Britain, which Elizabeth had so justly dreaded, was entirely avoided. Darnley, though allied to both crowns, and possessed of lands in both kingdoms, could be formidable to neither. It is evident from all these circumstances, that Elizabeth's apprehensions of danger could not possibly be serious; and that, in all her violent declarations against Darnley, there was much more of grimace than of reality*.

There were not wanting, however, political motives of much weight, to induce that wise Princess to put on the appearance of great displeasure. Mary, intimidated by this, might perhaps delay her marriage;

* Even the historians of that age acknowledge, that the marriage of the Scottish Queen with a subject, was far from being disagreeable to Elizabeth. Knox, 369, 373. Buchan. 339. Castelnau, who, at that time, was well acquainted with the intrigues of both the British courts, asserts, upon grounds of great probability, that the match was wholly Elizabeth's own work; Casteln. 462; and that she rejoiced at the accomplishment of it, appears from the letters of her own ambassadors. Keith, 280, 288.

which Elizabeth desired to obstruct with a weakness that little suited the dignity of her mind, and the elevation of her character. Besides, the tranquillity of her own kingdom was the great object of Elizabeth's policy; and by declaring her dissatisfaction with Mary's conduct, she hoped to alarm that party in Scotland, which was attached to the English interest, and to encourage such of the nobles, as secretly disapproved the match, openly to oppose it. The seeds of discord would, by this means, be scattered through that kingdom. Intestine commotions might arise. Amidst these, Mary could form none of those dangerous schemes, to which the union of her people might have prompted her. Elizabeth would become the umpire between the Scottish Queen and her contending subjects. And England might look on, with security, while a storm, which she had raised, wasted the only kingdom which could possibly disturb its peace.

In prosecution of this scheme, she laid before her privy council the message from the Scottish Queen, and consulted them with regard to the answer she should return. Their determination, it is easy to conceive, was perfectly conformable to her secret views. They drew up a remonstrance against the intended match, full of the imaginary dangers, with which that event threatened the kingdom. Nor did she think it enough, to signify her disapprobation of the measure, either by Maitland, Mary's ambassador, or by Randolph, her own resident in Scotland: in order to add more dignity to the farce which she chose to act, she appointed Sir Nicholas Throgmorton her ambassador extraordinary. She commanded him to declare, in the strongest terms, her dissatisfaction with the step which Mary proposed to take; and, at the same time, to pro-

duce the determination of the privy council, as an evidence that the sentiments of the nation were not different from her own. Not long after, she confined Lady Lennox as a prisoner, first in her own house, and then sent her to the Tower.

Intelligence of all this reached Scotland, before the arrival of the English ambassador. In the first transports of her indignation, Mary resolved, no longer to keep any measures with Elizabeth; and sent orders to Maitland, who accompanied Throgmorton, to return instantly to the English court, and, in her name, to declare to Elizabeth, that after having been amused so long to so little purpose; after having been fooled, and imposed on so grossly by her artifices; she was now resolved to gratify her own inclination, and to ask no other consent, but that of her own subjects, in the choice of an husband. Maitland, with his usual sagacity, foresaw all the effects of such a rash and angry message, and ventured rather to incur the displeasure of his mistress, by disobeying her commands, than to be made the instrument of tearing asunder, so violently, the few remaining ties, which still linked together the two Queens.

Mary herself soon became sensible of her error. She received the English ambassador with respect: justified her own conduct with decency; and though unalterable in her resolution, she affected a wonderful solicitude to reconcile Elizabeth to the measure; and even pretended, out of complaisance towards her, to put off the consummation of the marriage for some months. It is probable, however, that the want of the Pope's dispensation, and the prospect of gaining the consent of her own subjects, were the real motives of this delay.

This consent Mary laboured with the utmost industry to obtain. The Earl of Murray was the person in the kingdom, whose concurrence was of the greatest importance; but she had reason to fear that it would not be procured without extreme difficulty. From the time of Lennox's return into Scotland, Murray perceived that the Queen's affections began gradually to be estranged from him. Darnley, Athol, Rizzio, all the court favourites, combined against him. His ambitious spirit could not brook this diminution of his power, which his former services had so little merited. He retired into the country, and gave way to rivals, with whom he was unable to contend. The return of the Earl of Bothwell, his avowed enemy, who had been accused of a design upon his life, and who had resided for some time in foreign countries, obliged him to attend to his own safety. No entreaty of the Queen could persuade him to a reconcilement with that nobleman. He insisted on having him brought to a public trial, and prevailed, by his importunity, to have a day fixed for it. Bothwell durst not appear in opposition to a man, who came to the place of trial attended by 5000 of his followers on horseback. He was once more constrained to leave the kingdom; but, by the Queen's command, the sentence of outlawry, which is incurred by non-appearance, was not pronounced against him.

Mary, sensible, at the same time, of how much importance it was, to gain a subject so powerful and so popular as the Earl of Murray, invited him back to court, and received him with many demonstrations of respect and confidence. At last she desired him to set an example to her other subjects, by subscribing a

paper, containing a formal approbation of her marriage with Darnley. Murray had many reasons to hesitate, and even to withhold his assent. Darnley had not only undermined his credit with the Queen, but discovered on every occasion, a rooted aversion to his person. By consenting to his elevation to the throne, he would give him such an accession of dignity and power, as no man willingly bestows on an enemy. The unhappy consequences which might follow upon a breach with England, were likewise of considerable weight with Murray. He had always openly preferred a confederacy with England, before the ancient alliance with France. By his means chiefly, this change in the system of national politics had been brought about. A league with England had been established; and he could not think of sacrificing, to a rash and youthful passion, an alliance of so much utility to the kingdom; and which, he and the other nobles were bound, by every obligation, to maintain. Nor was the interest of religion forgotten on this occasion. Mary, though surrounded by Protestant counsellors, had found means to hold a dangerous correspondence with foreign Catholics. She had even courted the Pope's protection, who had sent her a subsidy of 8000 crowns. Though Murray had hitherto endeavoured to bridle the zeal of the reformed clergy, and to set the Queen's conduct in the most favourable light, yet her obstinate adherence to her own religion, could not fail of alarming him; and by her resolution to marry a papist, the only hope of reclaiming her which remained, was for ever cut off. Each of these considerations had its influence on Murray, and all of them determined him to decline complying, at that time, with the Queen's request.

The convention of nobles, which was assembled a few days after, discovered a greater disposition to gratify the Queen. Many of them, without hesitation, expressed their approbation of the intended match; but as others were startled at the same dangers which had alarmed Murray, or were influenced by his example, to refuse their consent, another convention was appointed at Perth, in order to deliberate more fully concerning this matter.

Meanwhile, Mary gave a public evidence of her own inclination, by conferring upon Darnley titles of honour peculiar to the royal family. The opposition she had hitherto met with, and the many contrivances employed to thwart and disappoint her inclination, produced their usual effect on her heart; they confirmed her passion, and increased its violence. The simplicity of that age imputed an affection, so excessive, to the influence of witchcraft. It was owing, however, to no other charm, than the irresistible power of youth and beauty, over a young and tender heart. Darnley grew giddy with his prosperity. 'Flattered by the love of a Queen, and the applause of many among her subjects, his natural haughtiness and insolence became insupportable, and he could no longer bear advice, far less contradiction. Lord Ruthven, happening to be the first person who informed him that Mary, in order to soothe Elizabeth, had delayed, for some time, creating him Duke of Albany, he, in a frenzy of rage, drew his dagger and attempted to stab him. It required all Mary's attention, to prevent his falling under that contempt, to which such behaviour deservedly exposed him.

In no scene of her life was ever Mary's own address more remarkably displayed. Love sharpened her in-

vention, and made her study every method of gaining her subjects. Many of the nobles she won by her address, and more by her promises. On some she bestowed lands, to others she gave new titles of honour. She even condescended to court the Protestant clergy; and having invited three of their superintendents to Stirling, she declared, in strong terms, her resolution to protect their religion, expressed her willingness to be present at a conference upon the points in doctrine which were disputed between the Protestants and Papists, and went so far as to show some desire to hear such of their preachers, as were most remarkable for moderation. By these arts, the Queen gained wonderfully upon the people, who, unless their jealousy be raised by repeated injuries, are always ready to view the actions of their sovereign with an indulgent eye.

On the other hand, Murray and his associates were plainly the dupes of Elizabeth's policy. She talked in so high a strain, of her displeasure at the intended match; she treated Lady Lennox with so much rigour; she wrote to the Scottish Queen in such strong terms; she recalled the Earl of Lennox and his son, in such a peremptory manner, and with such severe denunciations of her vengeance, if they should presume to disobey; that all these expressions of aversion fully persuaded them of her sincerity. This belief fortified their scruples with respect to the match, and encouraged them to oppose it. They began with forming among themselves bonds of confederacy and mutual defence; they entered into a secret correspondence with the English resident, in order to secure Elizabeth's assistance, when it should become needful; they endeavoured to fill the nation with such apprehensions of

danger, as might counterbalance the influence of those arts which the Queen had employed.

Besides these intrigues, there were secretly carried on, by both parties, dark designs of a more criminal nature, and more suitable to the spirit of the age. Darnley, impatient of that opposition, which he imputed wholly to Murray, and resolving at any rate to get rid of such a powerful enemy, formed a plot to assassinate him, during the meeting of the convention at Perth. Murray, on his part, despairing of preventing the marriage by any other means, had, together with the Duke of Chatelherault, and the Earl of Argyll, concerted measures for seizing Darnley, and carrying him a prisoner into England.

If either of these conspiracies had taken effect, this convention might have been attended with consequences extremely tragical; but both were rendered abortive, by the vigilance or good fortune of those against whom they were formed. Murray, being warned of his danger by some retainers to the court, who still favoured his interest, avoided the blow, by not going to Perth. Mary, receiving intelligence of Murray's enterprise, retired with the utmost expedition, along with Darnley, to the other side of Forth. Conscious, on both sides, of guilt, and inflamed with resentment, it was impossible they could either forget the violence, which themselves had meditated, or forgive the injuries intended against them. From that moment, all hope of reconcilement was at an end, and their mutual enmity burst out with every symptom of implacable hatred.

On Mary's return to Edinburgh, she summoned her vassals by proclamation, and solicited them by her letters to repair thither in arms for the protection of

her person against her foreign and domestic enemies. She was obeyed with all the promptness and alacrity, with which subjects run to defend a mild and popular administration. This popularity, however, she owed in a great measure to Murray, who had directed her administration with great prudence. But the crime of opposing her marriage obliterated the memory of his former services; and Mary, impatient of contradiction, and apt to consider those who disputed her will, as enemies to her person, determined to let him feel the whole weight of her vengeance. For this purpose she summoned him to appear before her upon a short warning, to answer to such things as should be laid to his charge. At this very time, Murray, and the lords who had adhered to him, were assembled at Stirling, to deliberate what course they should hold in such a difficult conjuncture. But the current of popular favour ran so strongly against them; and, notwithstanding some fears and jealousies, there prevailed in the nation such a general disposition to gratify the Queen in a matter which so nearly concerned her, that, without coming to any other conclusion than to implore the Queen of England's protection, they put an end to their ineffectual consultations, and returned every man to his own house.

Together with this discovery of the weakness of her enemies, the confluence of her subjects from all corners of the kingdom, afforded Mary an agreeable proof of her own strength. While the Queen was in this prosperous situation, she determined to bring to a period, an affair which had so long engrossed her heart, and occupied her attention. On the 29th of July, 1565, she married Lord Darnley.

Meanwhile Elizabeth endeavoured to embarrass

Mary, by a new declaration of disgust at her conduct. She blamed both her choice of Lord Darnley, and the precipitation with which she had concluded the marriage. She required Lennox and Darnley, whom she still called her subjects, to return into England; and at the same time, she warmly interceded in behalf of Murray, whose behaviour she represented to be not only innocent, but laudable. This message, so mortifying to the pride of the Queen, and so full of contempt for her husband, was rendered still more insupportable by the petulant and saucy demeanour of Tamworth, the person who delivered it. Mary vindicated her own conduct with warmth, but with great strength of reason; and rejected the intercession in behalf of Murray, not without signs of resentment at Elizabeth's pretending to intermeddle in the internal government of her kingdom. After the failure of Elizabeth's application in favour of Murray and his faction, now banished to England, nothing which Bedford's personal friendship for Murray could supply, was wanting to render his retreat agreeable. But Elizabeth herself treated the rebels with extreme neglect. She had fully gained her end, and by their means, had excited such discord and jealousies among the Scots, as would in all probability long distract and weaken Mary's councils. Her business now, was to save appearances, and to justify herself to the ministers of France and Spain, who accused her of fomenting the troubles in Scotland by her intrigues. The expedient she contrived for her vindication, strongly displays her own character, and the wretched condition of exiles, who are obliged to depend on a foreign prince. Murray, and Hamilton Abbot of Kilwinning, being appointed by the other fugitives to wait on Eli-

zabeth, instead of meeting with that welcome reception which was due to men, who out of confidence in her promises, had hazarded their lives and fortunes, could not even obtain the favour of an audience, until they had meanly consented to acknowledge, in the presence of the French and Spanish ambassadors, that Elizabeth had given them no encouragement to take arms. No sooner did they make this declaration, than she astonished them with this reply—"You have declared the truth; I am far from setting an example of rebellion to my own subjects, by countenancing those who rebel against their lawful prince. The treason, of which you have been guilty, is detestable; and as traitors, I banish you from my presence." Notwithstanding this scene of farce and of falshood, so dishonourable to all the persons who acted a part in it, Elizabeth permitted the malecontents peaceably to reside in her dominions, *supplied* them *secretly* with money, and renewed her intercession with the Scottish Queen in their favour.—ROBERTSON.

CHAP. VII.

Birth of King James—Darnley hated by Mary, and Bothwell loved—Elizabeth perplexed about Mary's successful Pretensions to the Succession, among the English—Elizabeth soothes and gains her Parliament—Mary intrigues in favour of Popery—Her extreme Hatred of the King.

THE hour of the Queen's delivery now approached. As her palace was defended only by a slender guard, it seemed imprudent to expose her person, at this time, to the insults she might suffer in a kingdom torn by factions, and prone to mutiny. For this reason, the privy council advised the Queen to fix her residence in the castle of Edinburgh, the strongest fortress in the kingdom, and the most proper place for the security of her person. In order to render this security more perfect, Mary laboured to extinguish the domestic feuds which divided some of the principal nobles. Murray and Argyll were exasperated against Huntly and Bothwell, by reciprocal and repeated injuries. The Queen, by her authority and entreaties, effected a reconcilement among them, and drew from them a promise to bury their discords in everlasting oblivion. This reconcilement Mary had so much at heart, that she made it the condition on which she again received Murray into favour.

On the 19th of June, Mary was delivered of her only son James, a prince whose birth was happy for the whole island, and unfortunate to her alone. His accession to the throne of England, united the two divided kingdoms in one mighty monarchy, and

established the power of Great Britain on a firm foundation. While she, torn early from her son by the cruelty of her fate, was never allowed to indulge those tender passions, nor to taste those joys which fill the heart of a mother.

Melvil was instantly dispatched to London with an account of this event. It struck Elizabeth at first in a sensible manner; and the advantage and superiority which her rival had acquired by the birth of a son, forced tears from her eyes. But before Melvil was admitted to audience, she had so far recovered the command of herself, as to receive him not only with decency, but with excessive cheerfulness; and willingly accepted the invitation which Mary gave her, to stand godmother to her son.

As Mary loved splendour and magnificence, she resolved to celebrate the baptism of the young Prince with great pomp; and for that purpose, sent invitations of the same kind to the French King, and to the Duke of Savoy, the uncle of her former husband.

The Queen, on her recovery, discovered no change in her sentiments with respect to the King. The death of Rizzio, and the countenance he had given to an action so insolent and unjustifiable, were still fresh in her memory. She was frequently pensive and dejected. And though Henry sometimes attended at court, and accompanied her in her progresses through different parts of the kingdom, he met with little reverence from the nobles, while Mary treated him with the greatest reserve, and did not suffer him to possess any authority. The breach between them became every day more apparent. Attempts were made towards a reconcilement, particularly by Castelnau, the French ambassador; but after such a violent rupture, it was

found no easy matter to bind the nuptial knot a-new; and though he prevailed on the King and Queen to pass two nights together, we may, with great probability, pronounce this appearance of union, to which Castelnau trusted, not to have been sincere; we know with certainty that it was not lasting.

Bothwell all this while was the Queen's prime confident. Without his participation, no business was concluded, and no favour bestowed. Together with this ascendant over her councils, Bothwell, if we may believe the cotemporary historians, acquired no less sway over her heart. But at what precise time this ambitious lord first allowed the sentiments of a lover to occupy the place of that duty and respect which a subject owes his sovereign; or when Mary, instead of gratitude for his faithful services, felt a passion of another nature rising in her bosom, it is no easy matter to determine. Such delicate transitions of passion, can be discerned only by those who are admitted near the persons of the parties, and who can view the secret workings of the heart with calm and acute observation. Neither Knox nor Buchanan enjoyed these advantages. Their humble station allowed them only a distant access to the Queen and her favourite. And the ardour of their zeal, and the violence of their prejudices, rendered their opinions rash, precipitate, and inaccurate. It is by the effects of this reciprocal passion, rather than by their accounts of it, that subsequent historians can judge of its reality.

Adventurous as Bothwell's project to gain the Queen may appear, it was formed and carried on under very favourable circumstances. Mary was young, gay, and affable. She possessed great sensibility of temper, and was capable of the utmost ten-

derness of affection. She had placed her love on a very unworthy object, who requited it with ingratitude, and treated her with neglect, with insolence, and with brutality. All these she felt, and resented. In this situation, the attention and complaisance of a man who had vindicated her authority and protected her person; who entered into all her views, who soothed all her passions, who watched and improved every opportunity of insinuating his design and recommending his passion—could scarce fail of making an impression on a heart of such a frame as Mary's.

The haughty spirit of Darnley, nursed up in flattery, and accustomed to command, could not bear the contempt under which he had now fallen, and the state of insignificance to which he saw himself reduced. But in a country where he was universally hated or despised, he could never hope to form a party, which would second any attempt he might make to recover power. He addressed himself, therefore, to the Pope, and to the Kings of France and Spain, with many professions of his own zeal for the Catholic religion, and with bitter complaints against the Queen, for neglecting to promote that interest: and soon after, he took a resolution, equally wild and desperate, of embarking on board a ship, which he provided, and of flying into foreign parts. It is almost impossible to form any satisfactory conjecture concerning the motives which influence a capricious and irregular mind. He hoped, perhaps, to recommend himself to the Catholic Princes on the Continent, by his zeal for religion, and that they would employ their interest towards reinstating him in the possession of that power which he had lost. Perhaps he expected nothing more than the comfort of hiding the disgrace under which he was

now fallen, among strangers, who had never been witnesses of his former prosperity.

He communicated the design to the French ambassador Le Croc, and to his father the Earl of Lennox. They both endeavoured to dissuade him from it, but without success. Lennox, who seems, as well as his son, to have lost the Queen's confidence, and who, about this time, was seldom at court, instantly communicated the matter to her by a letter. Henry, who had refused to accompany the Queen from Stirling to Edinburgh, was likewise absent from court. He arrived there, however, on the same day she received the account of his intended flight. But he was more than usually wayward and peevish; and scrupling to enter the palace, unless certain lords who attended the Queen were dismissed, Mary was obliged to meet him without the gates. At last he suffered her to conduct him into her own apartment. She endeavoured to draw from him the reasons of the strange resolution which he had taken, and to divert him from it. In spite, however, of all her arguments and entreaties, he remained silent and inflexible. Next day the privy council, by her direction, expostulated with him on the same head. He persisted, notwithstanding, in his sullenness and obstinacy; and neither deigned to explain the motives of his conduct, nor signified any intention of altering it. As he left the apartment, he turned towards the Queen, and told her, that she should not see his face again for a long time. A few days after, he wrote to Mary, and mentioned two things as grounds of his disgust. She herself, he said, no longer admitted him into any confidence, and had deprived him of all power; and the nobles, after her example, treated him with open neglect, so that he

appeared in every place without the dignity and splendour of a king.

Nothing could be more mortifying to Mary, than this intended flight of the King's, which would have spread the infamy of their domestic quarrel all over Europe. Compassion for a monarch who would then appear to be forced into exile by her neglect and ill usage, might have disposed mankind to entertain sentiments concerning the causes of their discord, little to her advantage. In order, therefore, to prepossess the minds of her allies, and to screen her reputation from any censure with which Darnley might endeavour to load it, the privy council transmitted a narrative of this whole transaction, both to the King, and to the Queen Mother of France. It is drawn with great art, and sets Mary's conduct in the most favourable point of light.

About this time, the license of the Borderers called for redress; and Mary resolving to hold a court of justice at Jedburgh, the inhabitants of several adjacent counties were summoned to attend their sovereign in arms, according to custom. Bothwell was at that time lieutenant or warden of all the marches, an office among the most important in the kingdom; and though usually divided into three distinct governments, bestowed by the Queen's favour upon him alone. In order to display his own valour and activity in the discharge of this trust, he attempted to seize a gang of banditti, who, lurking among the marshes of Liddesdale, infested the rest of the country. But while he was laying hold of one of those desperadoes, he was wounded by him in several places, so that his followers were obliged to carry him to Hermitage-castle. Mary instantly flew thither, with an impatience which

strongly marks the anxiety of a lover, but little suited the dignity of a Queen. Finding that Bothwell was threatened with no dangerous symptom, she returned that same day to Jedburgh. The fatigue of such a journey, added to the anguish of mind she had suffered on Bothwell's account, threw her next morning into a violent fever. Her life was despaired of; but her youth, and the vigour of her constitution, resisted the malignity of her disease. During the continuance of the Queen's illness, the King, who resided at Stirling, never came near Jedburgh; and when he afterwards thought fit to make his appearance there, he met with such a cold reception, as did not encourage him to make any long stay. Mary soon recovered strength enough to return along the eastern borders to Dunbar.

While she resided in this place, her attention was turned towards England. Elizabeth, notwithstanding her promise, and even proclamations to the contrary, not only allowed, but encouraged Morton and his associates to remain in England. Mary, on the other hand, afforded her protection to several English fugitives. Each Queen watched the motions of the other with a jealous attention, and secretly countenanced the practices which were carrying on, to disturb the administration of her rival.

For this purpose, Mary's ambassador, Robert Melvil, and her other emissaries, were extremely active and successful. We may impute, in a good degree, to their intrigues, that spirit which appeared in the parliament of England, and which raised a storm that threatened Elizabeth's domestic tranquillity, more than any other event of her reign, and required all her art and dexterity to allay it.

Elizabeth had now reigned eight years, without

discovering the least intention to marry. A violent distemper, with which she had lately been seized, having endangered her life, and alarmed the nation with the prospect of all those calamities which are occasioned by a disputed and dubious succession; a motion was made, and eagerly listened to in both houses, for addressing the Queen, to provide against any such danger in times to come, either by signifying her own resolution to marry, or by consenting to an act, establishing the order of succession to the crown. Her love to her subjects, her duty to the public, her concern for posterity, it was pretended, not only called upon, but obliged her to take one of these steps. The insuperable aversion which she had all along discovered for marriage, made it improbable that she would choose the former; and if she complied with the latter request, no title to the crown could, with any colour of justice, be set in opposition to that of the Scottish Queen. Elizabeth was sagacious enough to see the remotest consequences of this motion, and observed them with the greatest anxiety. Mary, by refusing so often to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, had plainly intimated a design of embracing the first promising opportunity for prosecuting her right to the English crown; and by her secret negotiations, she had gained many to favour her title. All the Roman Catholics ardently wished for her succession. Her gentleness and humanity had removed many of those apprehensions which the Protestants entertained on account of her religion. The court faction, which envied the power of Cecil, and endeavoured to wrest the administration out of his hands, advanced the pretensions of the Scottish Queen in opposition to him. The union of the two kingdoms was a desirable

object to all wise men in both nations; and the birth of the young Prince was a security for the continuance of this blessing, and gave hopes of its perpetuity.

Under these circumstances, and while the nation was in such a temper, a parliamentary declaration of Mary's title would have been highly detrimental to Elizabeth. The present unsettled state of the succession left much in her power. Her resentment alone might have gone far towards excluding any of the competitors from the crown; and the dread of this had hitherto restrained and overawed the ambition of the Scottish Queen. But if this check should be removed, by the legal acknowledgment of her title, Mary would be at full liberty to pursue her dangerous designs, and to act without fear or reserve. Her partizans were already meditating schemes for insurrections in different parts of the kingdom; and an act of parliament, recognizing the rights of that Princess, whose pretensions they favoured, would have been nothing less than a signal to arms; and, notwithstanding Elizabeth's just title to the affections of her subjects, might have shaken and endangered her throne.

While this matter remained in suspense in both houses, an account of it was transmitted to Mary by Melvil her ambassador. As she did not want advocates for her right, even among those who were near Elizabeth's person, she endeavoured to cultivate the disposition which appeared towards settling the right of succession in her favour, by a letter to the privy counsellors of England. She expressed in it a grateful sense of Elizabeth's friendship, which she ascribes chiefly to their good offices with their Sovereign, in her behalf. She declared her resolution to live in

perpetual amity with England, without urging or pursuing her claim upon the crown, any farther than should be agreeable to the Queen. But, at the same time, as her right of succession was undoubted, she hoped it would be examined with candour, and judged of with impartiality. The nobles who attended her wrote to the English privy council in the same strain. Mary artfully gave these letters the air of being nothing more than a declaration of her own, and of her subjects' gratitude towards Elizabeth. But as she could not be ignorant of the jealousy and fear with which Elizabeth observed the proceedings of parliament, a step so uncommon as this, of one Prince's entering into public correspondence with the privy counsellors of another, could not be otherwise construed than as taken with an intention to encourage the spirit which had already been raised among the English. In this light it seems to have appeared to Elizabeth herself. But the disposition of her people rendering it necessary to treat Mary's person with great decency, and her title with much regard, she mentioned it to her only in the softest language.

Nothing, however, could be a more cruel mortification to a princess of Elizabeth's character, than the temper which both houses of parliament discovered on this occasion. She bent all her policy to defeat, or elude the motion. After allowing the first heat of their zeal to evaporate, she called into her presence a certain number of each house. She soothed and caressed them; she threatened and promised; she remitted subsidies which were due; and refused those which were offered; and in the end prevailed, to have this formidable motion put off for that session. Hap-

pily for her, the conduct of the Scottish Queen, and the misfortunes which befel her, prevented the revival of such a motion in any future parliament.

Meantime, in order to preserve the reputation of impartiality, and that she might not drive Mary into any desperate measure, she committed to the Tower one Thornton, who had published something derogatory to the right of the Scottish line; and signified her displeasure against a member of the house of commons, who seemed, by some words in a speech, to glance at Mary.

Amidst all her other cares, Mary was ever solicitous to promote the interest of that religion which she professed. The re-establishment of the Romish doctrine seems to have been her favourite passion; and though the design was concealed with care, and conducted with caution, she pursued it with a persevering zeal. At this time, she ventured to lay aside somewhat of her usual reserve; and the aid which she expected from the Popish princes, who had engaged in the league of Bayonne, encouraged her to take a step, which, if we consider the temper of the nation, appears to be extremely bold. Having formerly held a secret correspondence with the Court of Rome, she now resolved to allow a Nuncio from the Pope publicly to enter her dominions. Cardinal Laurea, at that time Bishop of Mondovi, was the person on whom Pius V. conferred this office, and along with him he sent the Queen a present of 20,000 crowns. It is not the character of the Papal court, to open its treasury upon distant or imaginary hopes. The business of the Nuncio in Scotland, could be no other, than to attempt a reconciliation of that kingdom to the Romish see. Thus Mary herself understood it; and in her answer

to a letter which she received from the Pope, after expressing her grateful sense of his paternal care and liberality, she promises that she would bend her whole strength towards the re-establishment and propagation of the Catholic faith; that she would receive the Nuncio with every possible demonstration of respect, and concur, with the utmost vigour, in all his designs towards promoting the honour of God, and restoring peace to the kingdom; that she would celebrate the baptism of the Prince according to the ceremonies which the Romish ritual prescribes, hoping that her subjects would be taught, by this example, again to reverence the sacraments of the church, which they had so long treated with contempt; and that she would be careful to instil early into her son, the principles of a sincere love and attachment to the Catholic faith. But though the Nuncio was already arrived at Paris, and had sent over one of his attendants with part of the money, the Queen did not think the juncture proper for his reception. Elizabeth was preparing to send a magnificent embassy into Scotland, against the time of the Prince's baptism; and as it would have been improper to offend her, she wisely contrived, under various pretences, to detain Laurea at Paris. The convulsions into which the kingdom was thrown soon after, made it impossible for him to pursue his journey any farther.

At the very time that Mary was secretly carrying on these negotiations for subverting the reformed church, she did not scruple publicly to employ her authority towards obtaining for its ministers a more certain and comfortable subsistence. During this year, she issued several proclamations and acts of council for that purpose, and readily approved of every scheme which

was proposed for the more effectual payment of their stipends. This part of her conduct does little honour to Mary's integrity; and though justified by the example of princes, who often reckon falshood and deceit among the necessary arts of government, and even authorized by the pernicious casuistry of the Roman church, which transfers breach of faith to heretics, from the list of crimes to that of duties, such dissimulation, however, must be numbered among those blemishes which never stain a truly great and generous character.

As neither the French nor Piedmontese ambassadors were yet arrived, the baptism of the Prince was put off from time to time. Meanwhile Mary fixed her residence at Craigmillar. Such a retirement, perhaps, suited the present temper of her mind, and induced her to prefer it before her own palace of Holyrood-house. Her aversion for the King grew every day more confirmed, and was become altogether incurable. A deep melancholy succeeded to that gaiety of spirit which was natural to her. The rashness and levity of her own choice, and the King's ingratitude and obstinacy, filled her with shame and with despair. A variety of passions preyed at once on a mind, all of whose sensations were exquisite, and all its emotions strong, and often extorted from her the last wish of the unfortunate, that life itself would come to an end.—ROBERTSON.

CHAP. VIII.

Secret Association of the Confederate Lords with Queen Elizabeth, against Mary—Murray's Design to kill Darnley—His Insurrection, and Banishment—An Outline of his Character.

I NOW proceed to my subject; and in order to enable the reader to form a judgment of what part Murray, Morton, Elizabeth, and secretary Lethington, had in the great event of Darnley's death, it is necessary to trace their conduct for some time preceding that period.

On the death of the Queen-Regent, mother to Mary, then in France, the Earl of Murray, then Prior of St. Andrew's, and the Queen's bastard-brother, was at the head of the reformed party in Scotland; at which time it was reported, that he had the crown in view for himself. Our authority for this is, in the first place, a letter from Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the English ambassador in France, to secretary Cecil, dated the 26th of July, 1559: "I am, (says he), secretly informed, that there is a party in Scotland for placing the Prior of St. Andrew's in the state of Scotland, and that the Prior himself, by all the secret means he can, aspires thereto."

Queen Elizabeth, in her instructions to the Earl of Shrewsbury, owns her knowledge of this scheme; "Before the treaty of Edinburgh (says that Queen), there was an intent discovered unto us by Lethington, to deprive her (Queen Mary) of her crown, which we utterly rejected."

At a meeting of the nobility and clergy at Dunbar-

ton, 12th September, 1568, in a paper signed by nineteen lords, eight bishops, and eight abbots, and sent to Queen Mary's Commissioners at Westminster, in the time of the conferences, it is thus affirmed by them: "It is dilligentlie to be remembered, how shortlie aftir our sovereign's hame-coming fra the realm of France, in Scotland, the Erle of Murray having respect then, and as appears, yet, by his proceedings, to place himself in the government of this realme, and to usurp this kingdom."

Let us now see what evidence there is of any steps taken by Murray in the prosecution of these views. Queen Mary having determined to leave France, and come over to her own kingdom, made application to Queen Elizabeth for a safe conduct, and leave to pass through England in her way to Scotland. Both these suits were refused to her; and on Mary's taking her way by sea, some ships of war were suddenly sent out by Elizabeth, in order to intercept her in her passage. The learned Camden, from the letters of the Earl of Murray's party in Scotland, to Queen Elizabeth and her ministers, with whom a secret correspondence was at that time kept, informs us of the part Murray acted on that occasion: "James, the bastard (says that learned writer), having returned from France through England, gave advices underhand to intercept her, both for Elizabeth's security and the interest of religion. Lethington (adds he), advised the same thing; lest, if she should return, she should raise wonderful tragedies, cut off their intercourse with the English, and depress the faction that favoured them." Camden mentions the letters of the party in Scotland, which he had seen. And what confirms his veracity beyond dispute is, that Lethington's letter addressed to Cecil,

to this very purpose, is still preserved in the Cotton Library. This letter shows plainly the confederacy between the English minister, Cecil, and Murray and his party, that was then forming to disturb the government: "I have been (says Lethington), these forty days in the north parts of Scotland with my Lord James (Murray); where we have not been altogether unoccupied, but advancing the religion, and the common cause. I do allow your opinion of the Queen our sovereign's journey to Scotland, whose coming hither shall not fail to raise wonderful tragedies. She will not be served with those that bear any good will to England. Some quarrel shall be picked with them, not directly for religion at the first; but when the accusation of heresy would be odious, men must be charged with treason. A few number thus disgraced, dispatched, or dispersed, the rest will be an easy prey; and then may the butchery of Bonnar, plainly begin."

That Queen Elizabeth actually intended to have intercepted Queen Mary in her voyage from France to Scotland, is proved by her minister the Lord Keeper Bacon's direct acknowledgment, in a speech made in the privy council of England, *anno* 1562, on the occasion of a proposal then made, for an interview between Elizabeth and Mary: "Think you (says Lord Bacon), that the Scottish Queen's suit, made in a friendly manner, to come through England, at the time she left France to come into Scotland, and the denial thereof, is by them forgotten? Or else your sending your ships to sea at the time of her passage?"

Such is the evidence of the Earl of Murray's views at this time, and those of his party in Scotland, for having Queen Mary intercepted in her way to Scotland,

and detained a prisoner in England, that they might themselves seize the government of the kingdom.

Here the reader is desired to attend to the following evidence, which shows, that, at this time, the fatal association of Murray, Morton, and Lethington, in confederacy with Queen Elizabeth, and her minister Cecil, was formed; which constantly after this subsisted, and was the source whence sprung all that series of insurrections and rebellions against Mary and her government, and from which all the calamitous disasters of her reign were derived, which ended in her overthrow and death.

Before the Queen's arrival from France, which was on the 22d of August 1561, Queen Elizabeth had taken care to have a minister at Edinburgh. This was the noted Mr. Randolph, who, upon pretence of bearing Elizabeth's compliments of congratulation, continued about Queen Mary's court as a spy, giving the most minute intelligence of every thing done there, to his mistress Elizabeth, and her prime minister Cecil, and countenancing and encouraging every cabal formed to disturb Mary's government. Of all this, Randolph's own letters, still extant, are a full demonstration.

It appears that he had very soon cultivated a good understanding with the most fit persons for his purpose, such as the famous John Knox, one of the chief of the reformed preachers, and particularly with the three confederates, Murray, Morton, and Lethington.

That Knox was in the party, appears from the following evidence. Randolph, in a letter to Cecil, in September 1561, soon after the Queen's arrival in Scotland, thus writes: "I am earnestly required to let your honour understand, from Mr. Knox, that he has received your letter by the Laird of Lethington, to which he will

make answer at the next." *Cot. Lib. Calig.* book x.—The result of this correspondence between Cecil and Knox may be gathered from what follows. Randolph thus continues: "Where your honour exhorteth us (the faction in the English interest) to stoutness, I assure you the voice of one man is able, in an hour, to put more life in us, than 600 trumpets continually blustering in our ears."

"Mr. Knox spoke on Tuesday to the Queen; he knocked so hastily upon her heart, that he made her to weep, as well for anger as for grief.

"Upon Sunday the 24th of September, 1561, her Grace's chaplains, in the chapel-royal, would have sung high mass: the Earl of Argyle and Lord James (*i. e.* Murray) so disturbed the quire, that some, both priests and clerks, left their places with broken heads and bloody ears. It was a great sport to behold it."

24th October, 1651. "As to Mr. Knox, I commend better the success of his doings and preachings, than the manner thereof. His prayer is daily for her (the Queen), That God will turn her obstinate heart against God and his truth; or, if the holy will be otherwise, to strengthen the hearts and hands of his chosen and elect, stoutly to withstand the rage of all tyrants, &c. in words terrible enough."—*Cot. Lib.* Cal. x.

In what a piteous situation must this Princess have been, surrounded with those men, in league with her mortal foe, who, on the moment of her arrival among them, could, in her own capital, use their sovereign with such brutality!

To show that the English resident does not misrepresent Knox, we shall quote a short passage from one of his own sermons, and another from his History.

Soon after the Queen's marriage, the King came to

hear divine service in St. Giles's church in Edinburgh, where Knox preached before him. Among other seditious passages, he had this remarkable one: "That God, for the offences and ingratitude of the people, set in the room (*i. e.* place) of princes, boys and women; that God justly punished Ahab and his posterity, because he would not take order with that harlot Jezebel." *Knox's Hist.* b. v.—In his History he says, "Of the tyranny of the Guisian blood, in her, that for our unthankfulness now reigneth over us, we have had sufficient experience; but of any virtue that ever was espied in King James V, whose daughter she is called, to this hour we have never seen any sparkle."—*Keith*, p. 130.

Dr. Robertson, in his History, vol. i. p. 157, is pleased thus to characterise Mr. Knox: "Knox (says he) infused generous sentiments of government in the minds of his hearers."

I oppose to this Mr. Hume's character of Knox: "The Queen (says Mr. Hume) endeavoured, by the most gracious condescension, to win his favour; all her insinuations could gain nothing on his obdurate heart. The political principles of the man, which he communicated to his brethren, were as full of sedition, as his theological were of rage and bigotry." Vol. v. p. 51, octavo edit.—The reader will be at no loss to judge, which of the historians has given the justest character of this theological demagogue.

In this letter to Cecil, 9th of August, 1561, a fortnight before Mary's arrival in Scotland, he thus writes: "I have shown your honour's letter unto the Lord James (Murray), Lord Morton, and Lethington: they wish, as your honour doth, that she (Mary) might be stayed yet for a space; and if it were not for their obedience sake,

some of them care not though they never saw her face. They have need to look unto themselves; for their hazard is great; and they see there is no remedy nor safety for themselves, but to repose upon the Queen's (Elizabeth's) majesty's favour and support. They are in mind shortly to try what they may be assured at, of the Queen's majesty, and what they may assuredly perform, of that they intend to offer for their parts. They intend to expostulate with me hereupon. I have my answer ready enough to them.

"By such talk, as I have of late had with the Lord James and Lethington, I perceive that they are of mind, that immediately of the next convention, I shall repair to you with their determination and resolution in all purposes, wherein your honour's advice is earnestly and shortly looked for. The Lord of Lethington leaveth nothing at this time unwritten, that he thinketh may be able to satisfy your desire in knowledge of the present state of things here."

We see from this letter, that the affected pretence of those persons, for associating themselves, and carrying on this underhand treacherous intelligence and correspondence with England, was their fears from Mary on her arrival in her own dominions. How false these pretences were, may be judged from the conduct of this deluded Princess; who, immediately on her arrival, threw herself into the arms of these very men, Murray, Morton, and Lethington; who, notwithstanding they had the sole power in their hands, still continued to carry on their treacherous practices with England.

In the abstract of Randolph's letters to Cecil, now in the Cotton Library, we find in one of them, of the 19th June, 1563, these words: "If any suspected letters be taken on the border, open them not, but send them

to my Lord of Murray, of whose service the Queen of England is sure."

We now proceed to unfold some ouvert acts of Murray, in prosecution of his view of disturbing the government, and seizing the reins into his own hands.

The Queen's purpose to marry the Lord Darnley, in the year 1565, was an event which seemed to cross Murray's ambitious views, in placing a master over him for the present, and, by the prospect of the Queen's issue, cutting off all his future hopes.

Mary, then the most amiable and most accomplished woman of the age, had received solicitations of marriage from many of the Princes on the Continent: but the aversion of her subjects to a foreign alliance, and the will of her father King James V. determined her choice in favour of her cousin, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, the eldest son of the Earl of Lennox. Upon this head, John Knox, in his History of the Reformation, has a just and singular remark. It is doing him justice to give it in his own words: "The Queen being at Stirling, order was given to Secretary Lethington to pass to the Queen of England,—to declare, that Queen Mary was minded to marry her cousin, the Lord Darnley; and the rather, because he was so near of blood to both Queens: for by his mother he was cousin-german to the Queen of Scotland; also of near kindred, and the same name, by his father: his mother* was cousin-german to the Queen of England. Here mark God's providence: King James V. having lost his two sons, did declare his resolution to make the Earl of Lennox his heir of

* She was daughter of Margaret, the eldest sister of King Henry VIII. by Douglas Earl of Angus, whom she married after the death of King James IV. her first husband.

the crown; but he, prevented by sudden death, that design ceased: then came the Earl of Lennox from France, with intention to marry King James's widow; but that failed also: he marries Mary Douglas; and his son (Lord Darnley) marrieth Queen Mary, King James V.'s daughter: and so the King's desire is fulfilled, to wit, the crown continueth in the name and in the family." A marriage which thus connected every claim and title of succession to two kingdoms, often at variance together, and in whose quarrels a deluge of blood had been shed on both sides, was an event much to be wished for by all good men, and by none so much as by the friends of Queen Mary and her family, to whom so great a prospect opened.

Let us now see the sentiments and behaviour of her patriot brother, the Earl of Murray, on this occasion. I shall still follow my author, Knox: "The Queen (says he), wrote incontinent for all the lords to come to Stirling.—The special cause of this convention was to give to the Lord Darnley title of honour openly and solemnly, with consent of the nobles, before the marriage. The fourth day of May, the Earl of Murray came to Stirling; where he was well received by the Queen's majesty, as appeared; and as he passed with her to my Lord Darnley's chamber, they presented to him a contract, containing, in effect, that forasmuch as since the Queen had contracted marriage with the Lord Darnley, and that therefore sundry lords of the nobility had underwritten, ratified, and approved the same, and obliged themselves to grant unto him, in full parliament, the crown matrimonial; to serve and obey him and her as their lawful sovereigns: the Queen desired my Lord Murray to subscribe, as others had done before; which he refused to do; because, said

he, it is required, necessarily, that the whole nobility be present, at least the principal, and such as he himself was posterior unto, before that so grave a matter should be advised and concluded.

"The Queen, noways content with this answer, insisted still upon him, saying, the greatest part of the nobility were there present, and content with the matter; wished him to be so much a Stuart, as to consent to the keeping of the crown in the family and the surname, according to their father's will and desire, as was said of him a little before his death. But he still refused, for the causes above written."

This fact speaks aloud: here we have a glimpse of those black designs which lay brooding at the heart of this bastard-brother of the Queen: and from this time we shall see these designs gradually unfold themselves into ouvert acts.

For preventing the Queen's marriage, a conspiracy and association was formed, of which Murray was at the head, to seize the Queen and Lord Darnley at the kirk of Beith, on their return from Perth, on the 1st of July, 1565; to imprison her in the castle of Lochleven; and to murder or seize Darnley, and send him prisoner to England. Of all this the evidence follows.

Randolph, Queen Elizabeth's minister at Edinburgh, from his letters, appears to have been deeply engaged with the conspirators in this plot. In his letter 3d June, he thus writes to Cecil: "People have small joy in this their new master, and find nothing, but that God must find him a short end, or them a miserable life. The dangers of these he now hateth are great; but they find some support, that what he intendeth to others, may light upon himself."

In his letter of the 2d of July, he writes thus to

Cecil: "With my Lord of Murray I have lately spoken; he is grieved to see the extreme follies in his sovereign; he lamenteth the state of the country, that tendeth to utter ruin; he feareth that the nobility shall be forced to assemble themselves together, to do her honour and reverence, as they are in duty bound; but, at the same time, to provide for the state, that it do not utterly perish. The Duke, the Earl of Argyle, and he (Murray), concur in this device; many others are like to join in the same device, what will ensue, let wise men judge."

How the ruin of the state was to ensue from this marriage, founded, to all appearance, upon principles both wise and salutary for the state, and approved by all good men, is not so easy to be comprehended. That the Queen's marriage was a very great bar in the way of Murray, is extremely obvious; and for that reason, that the most desperate measures were put in execution by him, to prevent its having effect, we shall soon see. At this very period, however, it is acknowledged by all our historians, that the Queen was the darling of her people, and that her government was mild and unexceptionable to all. This Dr. Robertson candidly acknowledges. The only grievance therefore here complained of by Murray and associates, seems to be, that the Queen should think of marrying, which they foresaw might put an end to that party in the English interest, which Elizabeth cherished and kept up, for the purpose of disturbing Mary's government, and of which Murray, for his own private views, was at the head.

What lengths this association was resolved to go, in prosecution of their scheme to prevent the marriage, we proceed to unfold.

Randolph thus writes to Cecil, in the above letter of

the 2d of July: "Darnley's behaviour is such, as he is run in contempt of all men, even of those that were his chief friends: what shall become of him I know not, but it is greatly to be feared that he can have no long life among this people." Here is a prediction, which, without the gift of prophecy, Randolph might very safely make from what follows in his letter: "The question (says he), has been askt me, whether, if they (Darnley and his father Lennox) were delivered to us at Berwick, we would receive them? I answered, we would receive our own, in what sort soever they came in to us;" *i. e.* dead or alive.

This conspiracy being detected by the Queen, the very day before it was concerted to have been put in execution, she, with the assistance of the Earl of Athol, and what men he could instantly raise, made a sudden march to Edinburgh; which entirely disconcerted Murray and his confederates, insomuch that, seeing themselves detected, they made their retreat to Stirling; where they assembled their strength, and soon after took arms, and rose in open rebellion. This open attempt appeared to be so unprovoked and unjustifiable to the nation at large, that the Queen, with her whole people upon her side, found it an easy matter to crush Murray and his desperate party, who for refuge fled into England.

The desperate resolution of Murray and his party, of thus rising in open rebellion against their Sovereign, is opened to us by their confident, Randolph, the English minister, in his letter to Cecil at this very time, 3d September, 1565: "The Lords were forced from Edinburgh. The Queen suspects Morton, yet hath he not the wit to leave her. She weareth a pistol charged when in the field; and of all her troops, her husband

only has gilt armour. Divers of the other side are appointed to set upon the Queen's husband, and either kill him, or die themselves. They expect relief from England: much promised, but little received as yet. If her majesty will now help them, they doubt not but one country will receive both the Queens." I shall only add one testimony more; and that is, no less than the affirmation of most of the Scotch nobility; among whom were the Earls of Argyle, Rothes, and the Lord Boyd, who at first joined with Murray, but afterwards submitted, and were pardoned by the Queen, and must have certainly known the truth of what they subscribed to against Murray, their associate, in this affair. They declare in these words: "That he, Murray, at this time, conspired the slaughter of the Lord Darnley, and to have imprisoned her Highness in Lochleven, and usurped the government."

Thus have we full and clear proof, from the concurrent testimonies of the conspirators themselves, of a plot and confederacy formed by Murray and his party for overturning the government, dethroning Queen Mary, and murdering the Lord Darnley; and this carried into execution by an open rebellion, headed by Murray, which Queen Mary was so successful as to crush, and oblige him to fly the kingdom, and to take refuge under Queen Elizabeth, whose share in this enterprise is sufficiently proved by the preceding testimonies.

What motives, we now ask in our turn, could induce Murray, at this time, when the kingdom was in universal peace and quiet, under the mild government of his sister and benefactress, who had raised him to the height of power next to herself, and trusted him with the administration of all affairs, thus, unprovoked, to

form a plot to dethrone her, and murder her husband? What else, surely, but that inordinate lust of power and ambition, to set himself at the head of government, which ever has been, and will be a tempting motive to ambitious men to cut through the strongest ties, and to commit the worst of crimes! And although Murray failed at this time in his attempt, yet, by persevering in his scheme, and laying his plan deeper, he soon after was successful.

Let us hear Mr. Hume's sentiments.—"The conspiracy," says he, "of which Murray complains, is founded on very doubtful evidence." Vol. iv. p. 463.

Murray was the natural son of James V. by a daughter of Lord Erskine; and as that amorous monarch had left several others a burden upon the crown, they were all destined for the church, where they could be placed in stations of dignity and affluence. In consequence of this resolution, the priory of St. Andrew's had been conferred upon James: but, during so busy a period, he soon became disgusted with the indolence and retirement of a monastic life; and his enterprising genius called him forth, to act a principal part on a more public and conspicuous theatre. The scene in which he appeared, required talents of different kinds: military virtue, and political discernment, were equally necessary in order to render him illustrious. These he possessed in an eminent degree. To the most unquestionable personal bravery, he added great skill in the art of war, and in every enterprise his arms were crowned with success. His sagacity and penetration in civil affairs enabled him, amidst the reeling and turbulence of factions, to hold a prosperous course. While his boldness in defence of the Reformation, together with the decency, and even severity of his

manners, secured him the reputation of being sincerely attached to religion, without which, it was impossible, in that age, to gain an ascendant over mankind.

It was not without reason, that the Queen dreaded the enmity of a man, so capable to obstruct her designs. And as she could not, with all her address, make the least impression on his fidelity to his associates, she endeavoured to lessen his influence, and to scatter among them the seeds of jealousy and distrust, by insinuating that the ambition of the Prior, aspired beyond the condition of a subject, and aimed at nothing less than the crown itself.—TYTLER, and EDITOR.

CHAP. IX.

Battle of Langside, and Mary's Flight to England—Elizabeth deliberates about the manner of treating her—Resolves to detain her in England—Letter of Mary to Elizabeth on the subject—Letter from Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Murray, the Queen's Enemy.

THIS chapter alone, proves the fact of Elizabeth having been *particeps criminis* in all that led to Mary's ruin.

Mary's imprudence, in resolving to fight, was not greater than the ill conduct of her generals in the battle. Between the two armies, and on the road towards Dunbarton, there was an eminence called Langside-Hill. This the Regent had the precaution to seize, and posted his troops in a small village, and among some gardens and enclosures adjacent. In this advantageous situation he waited the approach of the

enemy, whose superiority in cavalry could be of no benefit to them, on such broken ground. The Hamiltons, who composed the vanguard, ran so eagerly to the attack, that they put themselves out of breath, and left the main battle far behind. The encounter of the spearmen was fierce and desperate; but as the forces of the Hamiltons were exposed, on the one flank, to a continued fire from a body of musqueteers, attacked on the other by the Regent's most choice troops, and not supported by the rest of the Queen's army, they were soon obliged to give ground, and the rout immediately became universal. Few victories, in a civil war, and among a barbarous people, have been pursued with less violence, or attended with less bloodshed. Three hundred fell in the field; in the flight scarce any were killed. The Regent and his principal officers rode about, beseeching the soldiers to spare their countrymen. The number of prisoners was great, and among them many persons of distinction. The Regent marched back to Glasgow, and returned public thanks to God for this great, and, on his side, almost bloodless victory.

During the engagement, Mary stood on a hill, at no great distance, and beheld all that passed in the field, with such emotions of mind as are not easily described. When she saw the army, which was her last hope, thrown into irretrievable confusion, her spirit, which all her past misfortunes had not been able entirely to subdue, sunk altogether. In the utmost consternation, she began her flight, and so lively were her impressions of fear, that she never closed her eyes till she reached the abbey of Dundrenan in Galloway, full sixty Scottish miles from the place of battle.

These revolutions in Mary's fortune had been no

less rapid than singular. In the short space of eleven days, she had been a prisoner at the mercy of her most inveterate enemies; she had seen a powerful army under her command, and a numerous train of nobles at her devotion; and now she was obliged to fly, in the utmost danger of her life, and to lurk, with a few attendants, in a corner of her kingdom. Not thinking herself safe, even in that retreat, her fears impelled her to an action, the most unadvised, as well as the most unfortunate in her whole life. This was her retiring into England, a step, which, on many accounts, ought to have appeared to her rash and dangerous.

Before Mary's arrival in Scotland, mutual distrust and jealousies had arisen between her and Elizabeth. All their subsequent transactions had contributed to exasperate and inflame these passions. She had endeavoured, by secret negotiations and intrigues, to disturb the tranquillity of Elizabeth's government, and to advance her own pretensions to the English crown. Elizabeth, who possessed greater power, and acted with less reserve, had openly supported Mary's rebellious subjects, and fomented all the dissensions and troubles in which her reign had been involved. The maxims of policy still authorized that Queen to pursue the same course; as by keeping Scotland in confusion, she effectually secured the peace of her own kingdom. The Regent, after his victory, had marched to Edinburgh, and not knowing what course the Queen had taken, it was several days before he thought of pursuing her. She might have been concealed in that retired corner, among subjects devoted to her interest, till her party, which was dispersed rather than broken by the late defeat, should gather such strength, that

she could again appear with safety at their head. There was not any danger which she ought not to have run, rather than throw herself into the hands of an enemy, from whom she had already suffered so many injuries, and who was prompted both by inclination, and by interest, to renew them.

But, on the other hand, during Mary's confinement, Elizabeth had declared against the proceedings of her subjects, and solicited for her liberty, with a warmth which had all the appearance of sincerity. She had invited her to take refuge in England, and had promised to meet her in person, and to give her such a reception as was due to a Queen, and an ally. Whatever apprehension Elizabeth might entertain of Mary's designs, while she had power in her hands, she was, at present, the object, not of fear, but of pity; and to take advantage of her situation, would be both ungenerous and inhuman. The horrors of a prison were fresh in Mary's memory, and if she should fall a second time into the hands of her subjects, there was no injury to which the presumption of success might not embolden them to proceed. To attempt escaping into France, was dangerous; and in her situation, almost impossible; nor could she bear the thoughts of appearing as an exile, and a fugitive, in that kingdom, where she had once enjoyed all the splendour of a Queen. England remained her only asylum; and, in spite of the entreaties of Lord Herreis, Fleming, and her other attendants, who conjured her, even on their knees, not to confide in Elizabeth's promises or generosity, her infatuation was invincible, and she resolved to fly thither. Herreis, by her command, wrote to Lowther, the deputy-governor of Carlisle, to know what reception he would give her; and, before his

answer could return, her fear and impatience were so great, that she got into a fisher-boat, and with about twenty attendants, landed at Workington in Cumberland, and thence she was conducted with many marks of respect to Carlisle.

So soon as Mary arrived in England, she wrote a long letter to the Queen, representing, in the strongest terms, the injuries which she had suffered from her own subjects, and imploring that pity and assistance which her present situation demanded. An event so extraordinary, and the conduct which might be proper in consequence of it, drew the attention, and employed the thoughts of Elizabeth and her council. If their deliberations had been influenced by considerations of justice or generosity alone, they would not have found them long or intricate. A Queen, vanquished by her own subjects, and threatened by them with the loss of her liberty, or of her life, had fled from their violence, and thrown herself into the arms of her nearest neighbour and ally, from whom she had received repeated assurances of friendship and protection. These circumstances entitled her to respect and to compassion, and required that she should either be restored to her own kingdom, or at least be left at full liberty to seek aid from any other quarter. But with Elizabeth and her counsellors, the question was, not what was most just or generous, but what was most beneficial to herself and to the English nation. Three different resolutions might have been taken with regard to the Queen of Scots. To re-instate her in her throne, was one; to allow her to retire into France, was another; to detain her in England, was a third. Each of these drew consequences after it, of the utmost importance, which were examined, as appears from papers still

extant, with that minute accuracy which Elizabeth's ministers employed in all their consultations upon affairs of moment.

To restore Mary to the full exercise of the royal authority in Scotland, they observed, would render her more powerful than ever. The nobles who were most firmly attached to the English interest, would quickly feel the utmost weight of her resentment. And as the gratitude of princes is seldom strong or lasting, regard to her own interest might soon efface the memory of her obligations to Elizabeth, and prompt her to renew the alliance of the Scottish nation with France, and revive her own pretensions to the English crown. Nor was it possible to fetter and circumscribe the Scottish Queen by any conditions that would prevent these dangers. Her party in Scotland was numerous and powerful. Her return, even without any support from England, would inspire her friends with new zeal and courage; a single victory might give them the superiority, which they had lost by a single defeat, and render Mary a more formidable rival than ever to Elizabeth.

The dangers arising from suffering Mary to retire into France, were no less obvious. The French King could not refuse his assistance towards restoring his sister and ally to her throne. Elizabeth would once more see a foreign army in the island, overawing the Scots, and ready to enter her kingdom; and if the commotions in France, on account of religion, were settled, the Princes of Lorraine might resume their ambitious projects, and the united forces of France and Scotland might invade England where it was weakest and most defenceless.

Nothing therefore remained, but to detain her in

England; and to permit her either to live at liberty there, or to confine her in a prison. The former was a dangerous experiment. Her court would become a place of resort to all the Roman Catholics, to the disaffected, and to the lovers of innovation. Though Elizabeth affected to represent Mary's pretensions to the English crown as altogether extravagant and ill-founded, she was not ignorant that they did not appear in that light to the nation, and that many thought them preferable even to her own title. If the activity of her emissaries had gained her so many abettors, her own personal influence was much more to be dreaded; her beauty, her address, her sufferings, by the admiration and pity which they would excite, could not fail of making many converts to her party.

'Twas indeed to be apprehended, that the treating Mary as a prisoner, would excite universal indignation against Elizabeth, and that by this unexampled severity towards a Queen who implored, and to whom she had promised her protection, she would forfeit the praise of justice and humanity, which was hitherto due to her administration. But the English monarchs were often so solicitous to secure their kingdom against the Scots, as to be little scrupulous about the means which they employed for that purpose. Henry IV. had seized the heir of the crown of Scotland, who was forced, by the violence of a storm, to take refuge in one of the ports of his kingdom; and, in contempt of the rights of hospitality, without regarding his tender age, or the tears and entreaties of his father, detained him a prisoner for many years. This action, though detested by posterity, Elizabeth resolved now to imitate. Her virtue was not more proof than Henry's had been, against the temptations of interest; and

the possession of a present advantage was preferred to the prospect of future fame. The satisfaction which she felt in mortifying a rival, whose beauty and accomplishments she envied, had, perhaps, no less influence than political considerations, in bringing her to this resolution. But, at the same time, in order to screen herself from the censure which this conduct merited, and to make her treatment of the Scottish Queen look like the effect of necessity, rather than of choice, she determined to put on the appearance of concern for her interest, and of deep sympathy with her sufferings.—ROBERTSON.

QUEEN MARY TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[*Cotton Lib.*]

" MADAM,

" Although the necessity of my cause (which maketh me to be importune to you) do make you to judge that I am out of the way; yet such as have not my passion, nor the respects whereof you are persuaded, will think that I do as my cause doth require. Madam, I have not accused you, neither in words, nor in thought, to have used yourself evil towards me. And I believe, that you have no want of good understanding, to keep you from perswasion against your natural good inclination. But in the mean time I can't chuse (having my senses) but perceive very evil furtherance in my matters, since my coming hither. I thought that I had sufficiently discoursed unto you the discommodities, which this delay bringeth unto me. And especially that they think in this next month of August, to hold a parliament against me and all my servants. And in the mean time, I am stayed here, and yet will you, that I should put myself forther into your country, (without seeing you) and remove me further from mine; and there do me this dishonour, at the request of my rebels, as to send commissioners to hear them against me, as you wold do to a mere subject, and not hear me by mouth. Now, madam, I have promised you to come to you, and having there made my moan and complaint of these rebels, and they coming thither, not as possessors, but as subjects to answer. I would have besought you to hear my justification of that which they have falsly set furth against me, and if I could not purge myself thereof, you might then discharge your hands of my causes, and let me go for such as I am.

But to do as your say, if I were culpable I would be better advis'd; but being not so, I can't accept this dishonour at their hands, that being in possession they will come and accuse me before your commissioners, whereof I can't like: And seeing you think it to be against your honour and consignage to do otherwise, I beseech you that you will not be mine enemy, untill you may see how I can discharge myself every way. And to suffer me to go into France, where I have a dowry to maintain me; or at the least to go into Scotland, with assurance that if there come any strangers thither, I will bind myself for their return without any prejudice to you, or if it pleis you not to do thus, I protest that I will not impute it to falshood, if I receive strangers in my country, without making you any other discharge for it. Do with my body as you will, the honour or blame shall be yours. For I had rather die here, and that my faithful servants may be succoured (tho' you wou'd not so) by strangers, than to suffer them to be utterly undone, upon hope to receive, in time to come, particular commodity. There be many things to move me to fear that I shall have to do, in this country, with others, than with you. But forasmuch as nothing hath followed upon my last moan I hold my peace, happen what may happ. I have as lief to { abide / endure } my fortune, as to seek it, and not find it. Further, it pleased you to give licence to my subjects to go and come. This hath been refused by my Lord Scroop and Mr. Knolls (as they say) by your commandment, because I would not depart hence to your charge, untill I had answer of this letter, tho' I shewed them that you required my answer, upon the two points, contained in your letter.

"The one is to let you briefly understand, I am come to you to make my moan to you, the which being heard, I would declare unto you mine innocency, and then require your aid, and for lack thereof, I can't but make my moan and complaint to God, that I am not heard in my just quarrel, and to appeal to other Princes to have respect thereunto, as my case requireth; and to you, madam, first of all, when you shall have examined your conscience before him, and have him for witness. And the other, which is to come further into your country, and not to come to your presence, I will esteem that as no favour, but will take it for the contrary, obeying it as a thing forced. In the mean time, I beseech you, to return to me my Lord Herries, for I can't be without him, having none of my counsal here, and also to suffer me, if it please you, without further delay, to depart hence whithersoever it be out of this country. I am sure you will not deny me this simple request for your honour's sake, seeing it doth not please you to use your natural goodness towards me otherwise, and seeing that of mine own accord, I am come hither, let me depart again, with yours. And if God permit my causes to succeed well, I shall be bound to you for it; and happening otherwise, yet I can't blame you. As for my Lord Fleeming, seeing that upon my credit

you have suffered him to go home to his house, I warrant you he shall pass no further, but shall return when it shall please you. In that you trust me, I will not (to die for it) deceive you. But from Dumbarton I answer not, when my L. Fleeming shall be in the Tower. For they which are within it, will not forbear to receive succour, if I don't assure them of yours; no, tho' you would charge me withal, for I have left them in charge, to have more respect to my servants and to my estate, than to my life. Good sister be of another mind, win the heart, and all shall be yours, and at your commandment. I thought to satisfy you wholly, if I might have seen you. Alas! do not as the serpent, that stoppeth his hearing, for I am no inchanter, but your sister, and natural cousin. If Cæsar had not disdained to hear or read the complaint of an advertiser, he had not so died: why should Princes ears be stopped, seeing that they are painted so long? Meaning that they should hear all and be well advised, before they answer. I am not of the nature of the basilisk, and less of the chamelion, to turn you to my likeness, and tho' I should be so dangerous and curs'd as men say, you are sufficiently armed with constancy and with justice, which I require of God, who give you grace to use it well with long and happy life. From Carlile, the 5th of July, 1568."

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE EARL OF MURRAY.

[*Burleigh Papers.*]

"Right trusty and right well beloved cousin, we greet you well. Where we hear say, that certain reports are made in sundry parts of Scotland, that whatsoever should fall out now upon the hearing of the Queen of Scotts cause, in any proof to convince or to acquit the said Queen concerning the horrible murder of her late husband our cousin, we have determined to restore her to her kingdom and government, we do so much mislike hereof, as we cannot indure the same to receive any credit: and therefore we have thought good to assure you, that the same is untruly devised by the authors to our dishonour. For as we have been always certified from our said sister, both by her letters and messages, that she is by no means guilty or participant of that murder, which we wish to be true, so surely if she should be found justly to be guilty thereof as hath been reported of her, whereof we would be very sorry, then, indeed, it should behoove us to consider otherwise of her cause than to satisfy her desire in restitution of her to the government of that kingdom. And so we would have you and all others think, that should be disposed to conceive honourably of us and our actions."

Indorsed 20 Sept. 1568.

28765

CHAP. X.

Mary caught in the Snare laid for her by Elizabeth, who takes advantage of Mary's offer to vindicate her Conduct —Mary greatly offended by Elizabeth's Conduct—Mary suspects her, and demands a Personal Interview—Mary accused by Murray of the Murder of her Husband—Is treated with greater rigour by Elizabeth, who secretly supports Murray, and hates Mary.

On her flight into England, Mary demanded a personal interview with the Queen, that she might lay before her the injuries which she had suffered, and receive from her those friendly offices which she had been encouraged to expect. They answered, that it was with reluctance this honour was at present denied her; that while she lay under the imputation of a crime so horrid, as the murder of her husband, their mistress, to whom he was so nearly allied, could not, without bringing a stain upon her own reputation, admit her into her presence; but as soon as she had cleared herself from that aspersion, they promised her a reception suitable to her dignity, and aid proportioned to her distress.

Nothing could be more frivolous than this pretence. It was the occasion, however, of leading the Queen of Scots into the snare, in which Elizabeth and her ministers wished to entangle her. Mary expressed the utmost surprize at this unexpected manner of evading her request; but as she could not believe so many professions of friendship to be void of sincerity, she frankly offered to submit her cause to the cognizance of Elizabeth, and undertook to produce such proofs of

her own innocence, and of the falshood of the accusations brought against her, as should fully remove the scruples, and satisfy the delicacy of the English Queen. This was the very point to which Elizabeth laboured to bring the matter. By this appeal of the Scottish Queen, she became the umpire between her and her subjects, and had it entirely in her own power to protract the inquiry to any length, and to perplex and involve it in endless difficulties. In the mean time, she was furnished with a plausible pretence for keeping her at a distance from court, and for refusing to contribute towards replacing her on her throne. As Mary's conduct had been extremely incautious, and the presumptions of her guilt were many and strong, it was possible her subjects might make good their charge against her; and if this should be the result of the inquiry, she would, thenceforth, cease to be the object of regard, or of compassion, and the treating her with coldness and neglect would merit little censure. In a matter so dark and mysterious, there was no probability that Mary could bring proofs of her innocence, so incontested, as to render the conduct of the English Queen altogether culpable. And perhaps, her impatience under restraint, her suspicion of Elizabeth's partiality, or her discovery of her artifices, might engage her in such cabals, as would justify the using her with greater rigour.

Elizabeth early foresaw all those advantages, which would arise from an inquiry into the conduct of the Scottish Queen, carried on under her direction. There was some danger, however, that Mary might discover her secret intentions too soon, and by receding from the offer which she had made, endeavour to disappoint them. But even in that event, she determined not to

drop the inquiry, and had thought of several different expedients for carrying it on. The Countess of Lennox, convinced that Mary was accessory to the murder of her son, and thirsting for that vengeance which it was natural for a mother to demand, had implored Elizabeth's justice, and solicited her, with many tears, in her own name, and in her husband's, to bring the Scottish Queen to a trial for that crime. The parents of the unhappy prince had a just right to prefer this accusation; nor could she, who was their nearest kinswoman, be condemned for listening to so equitable a demand. Besides, as the Scottish nobles openly accused Mary of the same crime, and pretended to be able to confirm their charge by sufficient proof; it would be no difficult matter to prevail on them, to petition the Queen of England to take cognizance of their proceedings against their sovereign; and it was the opinion of the English council, that it would be reasonable to comply with the request. At the same time, the obsolete claim of the superiority of England over Scotland, began to be talked of; and, on that account, it was pretended that the decision of the contest between Mary and her subjects belonged of right to Elizabeth. But though Elizabeth revolved all these expedients in her mind, and kept them in reserve, to be made use of as occasion might require, she wished that the inquiry into Mary's conduct should appear to be undertaken purely in compliance with her own demand, and in order to vindicate her innocence; and so long as that appearance could be preserved, none of the other expedients were to be employed.

When Mary consented to submit her cause to Elizabeth, she was far from suspecting that any bad consequences could follow, or that any dangerous pre-

tensions could be founded on her offer. She expected that Elizabeth herself would receive, and examine her defences; she meant to consider her as an equal, for whose satisfaction she was willing to explain any part of her conduct, that was liable to censure; not to acknowledge her as a superior, before whom she was bound to plead her cause. But Elizabeth put a very different sense on Mary's offer. She considered herself as chosen to be judge in the controversy between the Scottish Queen and her subjects, and began to act in that capacity. She proposed to appoint commissioners to hear the pleadings of both parties; and wrote to the Regent of Scotland, to empower proper persons to appear before them, in his name, and to produce what he could alledge in vindication of his proceedings against his sovereign.

Mary had, hitherto, relied with unaccountable credulity on Elizabeth's professions of regard, and expected that so many kind speeches would, at last, be accompanied with some suitable actions. But this proposal entirely undeceived her. She plainly perceived the artifice of Elizabeth's conduct, and saw what a diminution it would be to her own honour, to appear on a level with her rebellious subjects, and to stand together with them at the bar of a superior and a judge. She retracted the offer which she had made, and which had been perverted to a purpose so contrary to her intention. She demanded, with more earnestness than ever, to be admitted into Elizabeth's presence; and wrote to her in a strain very different from what she had formerly used, and which fully discovers the grief and indignation that prayed on her heart. "In my present situation (says she), I neither will, nor can reply to the accusations of my subjects. I

am ready, of my own accord, and out of friendship to you, to satisfy your scruples, and to vindicate my own conduct. My subjects are not my equals; nor will I, by submitting my cause to a judicial trial, acknowledge them to be so. I fled into your arms, as into those of my nearest relation, and most perfect friend. I did you honour, as I imagined, in choosing you, preferably to any other prince, to be the restorer of an injured Queen. Was it ever known that a prince was blamed for hearing, in person, the complaints of those who appealed to his justice, against the false accusations of their enemies? You admitted into your presence my bastard brother, who had been guilty of rebellion; and you deny me that honour! God forbid that I should be the occasion of bringing any stain upon your reputation. I expected that your manner of treating me would have added lustre to it. Suffer me either to implore the aid of other princes, whose delicacy on this head will be less, and their resentment of my wrongs greater; or let me receive from your hands that assistance which it becomes you, more than any other prince, to grant; and by that benefit, bind me to yourself in the indissoluble ties of gratitude."

This letter somewhat disconcerted Elizabeth's plan, but did not divert her from the prosecution of it. She laid the matter before the privy council, and it was there determined, notwithstanding the entreaties and remonstrances of the Scottish Queen, to go on with the inquiry into her conduct; and till that were finished, it was agreed that Elizabeth could not, consistently with her own honour, or with the safety of her government, either give her the assistance which she demanded, or permit her to retire out of the kingdom.

And lest she should have an opportunity of escaping, while she resided so near Scotland, it was thought advisable to remove her to some place at a greater distance from the borders.

The conference had, hitherto, been conducted in a manner which disappointed Elizabeth's views, and produced none of those discoveries which she had expected. The distance between York and London, and the necessity of consulting her upon every difficulty which occurred, consumed much time. Norfolk's negotiation with the Scottish Regent, however secretly carried on, was not, in all probability, unknown to a princess so remarkable for her sagacity in penetrating the designs of her enemies, and seeing through their deepest schemes. Instead, therefore, of returning any answer to the Regent's demands, she resolved to remove the conference to Westminster, and to appoint new commissioners, in whom she could more absolutely confide. Both the Scottish Queen and the Regent were brought, without difficulty, to approve of this resolution.

We often find Mary boasting of the superiority of her commissioners during the conference at York, and how, by the strength of their arguments, they confounded her adversaries, and silenced all their cavils. The dispute stood, at that time, on a footing which rendered her victory not only apparent, but easy. Her participation of the guilt of the King's murder, was the only circumstance which could justify the violent proceedings of her subjects. And while they industriously avoided mentioning that, her cause gained as much as that of her adversaries lost, by suppressing this capital argument.

Elizabeth resolved that Mary should not enjoy the

same advantage in the conference to be held at Westminster. She deliberated with the utmost anxiety, how she might overcome the Regent's scruples, and persuade him to accuse the Queen. She considered of the most proper method for bringing Mary's commissioners to answer such an accusation; and as she foresaw that the promises with which it was necessary to allure the Regent, and which it was impossible to conceal from the Scottish Queen, would naturally exasperate her to a great degree, she determined to guard her more narrowly than ever; and though Lord Scroop had given her no reason to distrust his vigilance or fidelity, yet, because he was the Duke of Norfolk's brother-in-law, she thought it proper to remove the Queen as soon as possible to Tuthbury in Staffordshire, and commit her to the keeping of the Earl of Shrewsbury, to whom that castle belonged.

Mary began to suspect the design of this second conference; and, notwithstanding the satisfaction she expressed at seeing her cause taken more immediately under the Queen's own eye, she framed her instructions to her commissioners in such a manner as to avoid being brought under the necessity of answering the accusation of her subjects, if they should be so desperate as to exhibit one against her. These suspicions were soon confirmed by a circumstance extremely mortifying. The Regent having arrived at London, in order to be present at the conference, was immediately admitted into Elizabeth's presence, and received by her, not only with respect, but with affection. This Mary justly considered as an open declaration of that Queen's partiality towards her adversaries. In the first emotions of her resentment, she wrote to her commissioners, and commanded them to

complain, in the presence of the English nobles, and before the ambassadors of foreign princes, of the usage she had hitherto met with, and the additional injuries which she had reason to apprehend. Her rebellious subjects were allowed access to the Queen; she was excluded from her presence; they enjoyed full liberty, she languished under a long imprisonment; they were encouraged to accuse her; in defending herself she laboured under every disadvantage. For these reasons, she once more renewed her demand of being admitted into the Queen's presence; and if that were denied, she instructed them to declare, that she recalled the consent she had given to the conference at Westminster, and protested, that whatever was done there, should be held to be null and invalid.

This, perhaps, was the most prudent resolution Mary could have taken. The pretences on which she declined the conference were plausible, and the juncture for offering them well chosen. But either the Queen's letter did not reach her commissioners in due time, or they suffered themselves to be deceived by Elizabeth's professions of regard for their mistress, and consented to the opening of the conference.

To the commissioners who had appeared in her name at York, Elizabeth now added Sir Nicholas Bacon, Keeper of the Great Seal, the Earls of Arundel and Leicester, Lord Clinton, and Sir William Cecil. The difficulties which obstructed the proceedings at York were quickly removed. A satisfying answer was given to the Regent's demands; nor was he so much disposed to hesitate, and raise objections, as formerly. His negotiation with Norfolk had been discovered to Morton by some of Mary's attendants, and he had communicated it to Cecil. His personal

safety, as well as the continuance of his power, depended on Elizabeth. By favouring Mary, she might, at any time, ruin him, and by a question which she artfully started, concerning the person who had a right, by the law of Scotland, to govern the kingdom during a minority, she let him see, that even without restoring the Queen, it was an easy matter for her to deprive him of the supreme direction of affairs. These considerations, which were powerfully seconded by most of his attendants, at length determined the Regent to produce his accusation against the Queen.

He endeavoured to lessen the infamy, with which he was sensible this action would be attended, by protesting, that it was with the utmost reluctance he undertook this disagreeable task; that his party had long suffered their conduct to be misconstrued, and had borne the worst imputations in silence, rather than expose the crimes of their sovereign to the eyes of strangers; but that now the insolence and importunity of the adverse faction forced them to publish, what they had hitherto, though with loss to themselves, endeavoured to conceal. These pretexts are decent; and had the party discovered any delicacy or reserve, with regard to the Queen's actions, in the rest of their conduct, might have passed for the real principles by which they were influenced. But their former treatment of the Queen, renders it impossible to give any credit to these professions. And the Regent, it is plain, was drawn by the necessity of his affairs, and Elizabeth's artifices, into a situation, where no liberty of choice was left him; and was obliged either to acknowledge himself to be guilty of rebellion, or to charge Mary with having committed murder.

The accusation itself was conceived in the strongest

terms. Mary was charged, not only with having consented to the murder, but with being accessory to the contrivance and execution of it. Bothwell, it was pretended, had been screened from the pursuits of justice by her favour; and she had formed designs no less dangerous to the life of the young Prince, than subversive of the liberties and constitution of the kingdom. If any of these crimes should be denied, an offer was made, to produce the most ample and undoubted evidence in confirmation of the charge.

At the next meeting of the commissioners, the Earl of Lennox appeared before them; and after bewailing the tragical and unnatural murder of his son, he implored Elizabeth's justice against the Queen of Scots, whom he accused, upon oath, of being the author of that crime, and produced papers, which, as he pretended, would make good what he alledged. The entrance of a new actor on the stage, so opportunely, and at a juncture so critical, can scarce be imputed to chance. This contrivance was manifestly Elizabeth's, in order to increase, by this additional accusation, the infamy of the Scottish Queen.

Mary's commissioners expressed the utmost surprize and indignation at the Regent's presumption, in loading the Queen with calumnies, which, as they affirmed, she had so little merited. But, instead of attempting to vindicate her honour, by a reply to the charge, they had recourse to an article in their instructions, which they had formerly neglected to mention in its proper place. They demanded an audience of Elizabeth; and having renewed their mistress's request, of a personal interview, they protested, if that were denied her, against all the future proceedings of the commissioners. A protestation of this nature, offered just at

the critical time, when such a bold accusation had been preferred against Mary, and when the proofs in support of it were ready to be examined, gave reason to suspect that she dreaded the event of that examination. This suspicion received the strongest confirmation from another circumstance; Ross and Herreis, before they were introduced to Elizabeth, in order to make this protestation, privately acquainted Leicester and Cecil, that as their mistress had, from the beginning, discovered an inclination towards bringing the differences between herself and her subjects to an amicable accommodation, so she was still desirous, notwithstanding the Regent's audacious accusation, that they should be terminated in that manner.

Such moderation is scarce compatible with the strong resentment, which calumniated innocence naturally feels; or with that eagerness to vindicate itself, which it always discovers. In Mary's situation, an offer so ill-timed must be considered as a confession of the weakness of her cause. The known character of her commissioners exempts them from the imputation of folly, or the suspicion of treachery. Some secret conviction, that the conduct of their mistress could not bear so strict a scrutiny, seems to be the most probable motive of this imprudent proposal, by which they endeavoured to avoid it.

It appeared in this light to Elizabeth, and afforded her a pretence for rejecting it. She told Mary's commissioners, that, in the present juncture, nothing could be so dishonourable to their mistress, as an accommodation; and that the matter would seem to be huddled up in this manner, merely to suppress discoveries, and to hide her shame; nor was it possible that she could be admitted, with any decency, into

her presence, while she lay under the infamy of such a public accusation.

Upon this repulse, Mary's commissioners withdrew; and as they had declined answering, there seemed now to be no further reason for the Regent's producing the proofs in support of his charge. But without getting these into her hands, Elizabeth's schemes were incomplete; and her artifice for this purpose was as mean, but as successful, as any she had hitherto employed. She commanded her commissioners to testify her indignation and displeasure at the Regent's presumption, in forgetting so far the duty of a subject, as to accuse his sovereign of such atrocious crimes. He, in order to regain the good opinion of such a powerful protectress, offered to show that his accusations were not malicious, nor ill-grounded. Then were produced, and delivered to the English commissioners, the acts of the Scottish parliament, in confirmation of the Regent's authority, and of the Queen's resignation; the confessions of the persons executed for the King's murder; and the *fatal casket* which contained the letters, sonnets, and contracts, that have been already mentioned.

Elizabeth having got these into her possession, began to lay aside the expressions of friendship and respect which she had hitherto used in all her letters to the Scottish Queen. She now wrote to her in such terms, as if the presumptions of her guilt had amounted almost to certainty; she blamed her for refusing to vindicate herself from an accusation which could not be left unanswered, without a manifest injury to her character; and plainly intimated, that unless that were done, no change would be made in her present situation. She hoped that such a discovery of her sentiments would intimidate Mary, who was scarce reco-

vered from the shock of the Regent's attack on her reputation, and force her to confirm her resignation of the crown, to ratify Murray's authority as Regent, and to consent that both herself and her son should reside in England, under her protection. This scheme Elizabeth had much at heart; she proposed it both to Mary and to her commissioners, and neglected no argument, nor artifice, that could possibly recommend it. Mary saw how fatal this would prove to her reputation, to her pretensions, and even to her personal safety. She rejected it without hesitation: "Death (said she) is less dreadful than such an ignominious step. Rather than give away, with my own hands, the crown which descended to me from my ancestors, I will part with life; but the last words I utter, shall be those of a Queen of Scotland."

At the same time she seems to have been sensible how open her reputation lay to censure, while she suffered such a public accusation to remain unanswered; and though the conference was now dissolved, she empowered her commissioners to present a reply to the allegations of her enemies, in which she denied, in the strongest terms, the crimes imputed to her; and recriminated upon the Regent and his party, by accusing them of having devised and executed the murther of the King. The Regent and his associates asserted their innocence with great warmth. Mary continued to insist on a personal interview, a condition which she knew would never be granted. Elizabeth urged her to vindicate her own honour. But it is evident from the delays, the evasions, and subterfuges, to which both Queens had recourse by turns, that Mary avoided, and Elizabeth did not desire to make any further progress in the inquiry.

The Regent was now impatient to return into Scotland, where his adversaries were endeavouring, in his absence, to raise some commotions. Before he set out, he was called into the privy council, to receive a final declaration of Elizabeth's sentiments. Cecil acquainted him, in her name, that on one hand nothing had been objected to his conduct, which she could reckon detrimental to his honour, or inconsistent with his duty; nor had he, on the other hand, produced any thing against his sovereign, on which she could found an unfavourable opinion of her actions; and for this reason, she resolved to leave all the affairs of Scotland, precisely in the same situation in which she had found them at the beginning of the conference. The Queen's commissioners were dismissed much in the same manner.

After the attention of both nations had been fixed so earnestly on this conference, upwards of four months, such a conclusion of the whole appears, at first sight, trifling and ridiculous. Nothing, however, could be more conformable to Elizabeth's original views, or more subservient to her future schemes. Notwithstanding her seeming impartiality, she had no thoughts of continuing neuter; nor was she at any loss on whom to bestow her protection. Before the Regent left London, she supplied him with a considerable sum of money, and engaged to support the King's authority, to the utmost of her power. Mary, by her own conduct, fortified this resolution. Enraged at the repeated instances of Elizabeth's artifice and deceit, which she had discovered during the progress of the conference, and despairing of ever obtaining any succour from her, she endeavoured to rouse her own adherents in Scotland to arms, by imputing such designs

to Elizabeth and Murray, as could not fail to inspire every Scotchman with indignation. Murray, she pretended, had agreed to convey the Prince her son into England; to surrender to Elizabeth the places of greatest strength in the kingdom; and to acknowledge the dependance of the Scottish upon the English nation. In return for this, he was to be declared the lawful heir of the crown of Scotland; and, at the same time, the question with regard to the English succession was to be decided in favour of the Earl of Hartford, who had promised to marry one of Cecil's daughters. An account of these wild and chimerical projects was spread industriously among the Scots. Elizabeth, perceiving it was calculated of purpose to bring her government into disreputation, laboured to destroy its effects, by a counter-proclamation, and became more disgusted than ever with the Scottish Queen.—ROBERTSON.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Earl of Murray—Buchanan's Writings—Of Murray, and his Intrigues with the Court of France, and with Elizabeth—Attempts to usurp the Crown after the Queen's Marriage—His Conduct while Mary's Prime Minister—His more open attempts to seize the Crown—Elizabeth still intriguing—Conduct of the Conspirators after their Disappointment at the Kirk of Beith—Murray again appears in Scotland—His Murder—And his Character by another Hand—Elizabeth's Grief on the occasion—And cruel trifling with Mary's Feelings.

As to George Buchanan and John Knox, whatever they have written deserves no consideration to be had of it, as they were men of abominable practices, and correspondent characters. But what can be said for Monsieur de Thou, Archbishop Spottiswood, and others like them, who have obtained a good character in the world, and cannot be accused of any open or notorious crimes, and were not, nor could have been, actually concerned in the transactions then carried on; and therefore are to be supposed to have been quite free from all malice and partiality? Yet have they, especially the former, transcribed into their histories most of George Buchanan's vile aspersions, which are so far from being true, that they are neither probable nor credible; and these men, by adopting them, have misled not a few well-meaning persons out of the plain paths of truth.

But still it may be made a question, by whom was the King's murder contrived, if not by the Queen? For that he was shamefully murdered, is certain; and

as certain it is, that there had been a misunderstanding betwixt him and her for some time before. Now, although it could not be made appear who were either the contrivers or executors of that fact, it would be highly unreasonable to throw the suspicion upon the Queen. But after it has been made manifest that all the proofs, presumptions, and allegations that were so industriously trumped up, and sworn against her by Murray and his party, were only so many gross compositions and inventions of their own, and that they were not able to bring the least real evidence against her innocency, the presumption turns against themselves: for men who could so openly and confidently thrust the Queen in prison, and then swear so many of their own rank forgeries upon her, in order to intrude themselves into the supreme authority in her kingdom, and to seize her riches, were surely very capable of murdering the King too, because that was also a main step to attain to their purpose.

And as to the misunderstanding that had been betwixt the Queen and her husband, it was also wholly to be charged to the account of Murray and his party, who had induced the unwary young man, to enter into a private confederacy with them, against the Queen herself, for very unlawful and wicked purposes, of which afterwards.

James Earl of Murray had, for many years, been aiming at the crown. He had entered into a confederacy with the King of England against his native country, before he was seventeen years of age, having got himself introduced to some acquaintance and correspondence with the Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector of England, and also with King Edward VI. by means of Sir John Melvill of Raith. At that age,

while as yet he was only Prior of St. Andrew's, he had declared himself, forsooth, to be against the French, an expression unknown among Scotsmen in former times, but which had then lately come in use among some persons, and chiefly among the men of Fife, who were forming designs for selling or enslaving their native country to the English. It is more than probable that the execution of Sir John Melvill, who had soon after this been condemned for treason, by the three estates in parliament, made the Prior a little more circumspect for some time. This is certain, that he was so far reconciled to the French, a few years thereafter, that he accepted of the rich priory of Mascon in commendam, which is conferred upon him by a bull of Pope Paul IV. dated the tenth day of January, 1555, with a dispensation to him for holding three ample benefices, notwithstanding his bastardy, &c. for which he took an oath of fealty to his Holiness: oaths however are but words.

In February 1558, he went as one of the commissioners sent from Scotland to solemnize the Queen's marriage with the Dauphin of France. At which time, if we might give credit to most of the common histories of these times, domestic or foreign, he was not quite so civilly used. They tell us of "a long conference, betwixt the Chancellor of France and these Scottish commissioners in the King's council, about delivering up the crown and other regalia of Scotland, that the Dauphin, the Queen's husband, might be crowned King of Scotland, which the Scottish commissioners, according to them, thought highly unreasonable, and therefore refused all assent or consent in that matter, it being a point of treason, in which they durst not meddle, even so far as to propose it at home,

but at the peril of losing their heads: on account of which refusal they had poison administered to them, before they left France, whereof about one half of them died, with many of their retinue, at a time when there was no pestilential disease in the country; and that all this was a contrivance of the Guises." George Buchanan writes also, that the Prior of St. Andrew's had tasted of the same potion; and though, by the vigour of youth, he escaped death, yet was he ever afterwards afflicted with a continual and dangerous ailment in his stomach. Indeed the Prior himself seems to have been the propagator of these stories, for in a kind of manifesto drawn up by him and his associates the next year, when they set about their reforming work, the poisoning these ambassadors is condescended on as a special grievance. Buchanan however had not the last part of the story concerning the Prior, from himself, but out of Lindsay of Pitscottie's book, whose account he curtailed. Had he given the whole of it, every one could have perceived how much credit it deserves: for Pitscottie writes, "that the physicians hung up the Prior by the heels, to let the poison drop out of him."

The whole story, and every part of it, is either pure fiction, or misrepresentation of plain matter of fact.

By the very contract of marriage, it was agreed that the Dauphin should use the title and arms of King of Scotland; and the Scottish ambassadors, or commissioners, obliged themselves to take an oath of fealty to the Dauphin, in name of the estates of Scotland, that they should serve, honour, and obey him, during the marriage, as King of Scotland, in the same manner as they and their predecessors had been in use to do to the Queen's progenitors. This was actually done

by six of them, of whom the Prior of St. Andrew's was one; and the deed, upon that occasion was signed, sealed, and delivered by them, four days after the marriage. The Earls of Rothes and Cassils, and the Bishops of Orknay and Ross principal secretary, who all died not long thereafter, had probably been sick at that very juncture, and so are not among the subscribers; for could they have been present, who can doubt but they would have joined with the rest?

Even this goes very far to discredit the story of poisoning, especially if it is considered that both these earls and bishops stood firmly for the joint interest of France and Scotland. Why should the French have poisoned their friends? The truth of the matter is, that something pestilential or noxious in the air that year, was the real occasion of the death of so many of them: nor were the effects of it confined to them only, for numbers were cut off through the several parts of Europe about that very time. In our neighbouring nation, their Queen, and Cardinal Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury, with the Bishops of Bath and Wells, Bristol, Carlisle, Chichester, Durham, Litchfield and Coventry, London, Rochester and St. David's, Sodor, and Winchester, died all of them in about a year's time. In short, when Queen Elizabeth began to set up her Protestant bishops, there were no less than fifteen episcopal sees, out of twenty-seven, that were become vacant by death; which doubtless contributed not a little to facilitate the deprivation of the few that survived, and the setting up Protestancy in that kingdom.

If near the half of the English bishops died in their native country, in so short a space of time, and I hope without poison, why ought we not to conclude

that the half, or near the half of our ambassadors died abroad at the same time, in the same way? No document has yet appeared, by which the particular day or month of their several deaths can be ascertained. Bishop Lesly, writes that three of them died in September; but the act of parliament upon the penult day of November, mentions only one of them to have been then dead; and expressly bears that the other three then remained in the ports of France. Monsieur de Thou remarks, that the years 1557, 1558, and 1559, especially the latter, proved fatal to a vast number of great and learned men, several of whom he names particularly; and though he thought the great and learned only worthy to have particular notice taken of them, we are not to imagine but that the meaner sort and unlearned, died also in proportion to their numbers, or not far below it.

By the bills of mortality of some foreign cities, it is to be seen that the mortality began to increase amongst them in the year 1558, and continued to increase through the two following years. After this manner is the death of the Scottish ambassadors to be naturally accounted for, without raising so vile a calumny upon persons who, for any thing that appears, were both too great and too good, to have been guilty of an action so wicked and unmanly. As there was therefore at that time a real pestilentious quality in the air, through the different parts of Europe, what apology can be made for the historians who have defiled their writings with scandalous aspersions, so unfounded, with relation to these commissioners? . . . .

The commissioners, or ambassadors, who returned home in health, laid their whole transactions before the parliament, which met for that purpose, and there-

upon were by act of parliament, honourably and fully acquitted and discharged of the trust that had been committed to them. After which they informed the parliament, that the Queen their sovereign, "desired that the three estates of her realm would find it good, that her Majesty might honour her spouse, the King Dauphin, with the crown matrimonial, by way of gratification, during the marriage, without any manner of prejudice to her Highness's self, the succession of her body, or lawful succession of her blood whatsoever: and this crown to be sent with two or three of the lords of her realm, &c." All which was readily agreed to and enacted, as also, that the Queen should have the nomination of such persons as should please her, to carry the same to France, whose commission should pass in the name of the three estates, and be sealed with the seals of six of the principals of each estate, and subscribed with their hands. Bishop Keith hath published these acts, by which the efforts of Buchanan and his followers, to transmit to latest posterity the account of these transactions in a false and ridiculous light, are egregiously baffled.

Soon after the Queen's marriage with the Dauphin of France, matters in Scotland went into great disorder. No less than two different persons set themselves up to deprive her of her kingdom, namely, the Duke of Chastelherault, and the Prior of St. Andrew's. For Queen Mary of England having departed this life that year, the English had set upon the throne Elizabeth, the illegitimate daughter of Henry VIII. by Anne Bolen, who inclining to the Protestants, more out of policy than from any religious regard, quite changed the ecclesiastical establishment in that kingdom. The Duke of Chastelherault had, for some years

before, behaved himself neither so dutifully nor so honourably as became a man of his rank and quality; and the English embraced the opportunity of managing his disaffection to the disturbance of his native country. This English Queen and her ministers insinuated that she would marry his son the Earl of Arran, then commander of the Scots guards in France, and having buoyed up the young man with this vain expectation, they induced him to steal away secretly from the Court of France, and conveyed him privately first into England, and then to Scotland, where his father was abetting and fomenting a rebellion that had been lately raised, upon the pretext of reformation of religion, but in reality for seizing the crown and the church lands, revenues, and riches, as they had seen done in England. By this marriage, of which they thought themselves quite secure, as it had first been proposed to them, they expected soon to become masters both of Scotland and England: on which consideration they slighted the loss of their possessions and offices which the King of France had conferred upon them, and threw up all care and regard for their sovereign.

At the same time the Prior of St. Andrew's taking courage, it would seem, by the example lately set in England, imagined that his high profession of sanctity, and fiery zeal for protestantism, might well compensate for his illegitimacy, and induce the reformers to promote him to the crown. He had joined himself with these reformers as early at least as the beginning of the year 1557, and concurred in their covenants and confederacies made against all who should oppose them, without exception. At last he became their chief ringleader, and set himself to thwart the Duke of Chastelherault in his designs.

Some people at that time, and also in our days, do warmly deny that he ever was aiming at the crown; but all his after actions and behaviour do loudly proclaim that he did so. The Queen Dowager of Scotland, and the King of France, who could not fail to have good intelligence, believed no less of him. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the English ambassador in France, who carried on a close correspondence with that party, writes to secretary Cecil upon the 26th of July, 1559—"That he was secretly informed, that there was a party in Scotland for the placing of the Prior of St. Andrew's in the state of Scotland; and that the Prior himself did, by all the secret means he could, aspire thereto." The Duke of Norfolk was positive enough that Murray was still pursuing the same game, even in September 1569, only about four months before he was shot at Linlithgow; for thus he writes to Cecil, upon the 15th day of that month—"You may see by the Earl of Murray's dealing with Lethington, what mark he shoots at, and how little he careth for any thing that is advised here. He that hath been so bold with his own mistress, as to bereave her of her kingdom and liberty, thinks it but a small matter to refuse to be advised by the Queen's Majesty. You shall find that he hath forgotten all former friendship. He hath a new mark in his eye—no less than a kingdom. God send him such luck as others have had who have followed his course."

This was the general persuasion of all persons of tolerable sagacity at that time, as might be made appear by other good testimonies. Perhaps one from Queen Elizabeth will be of use to convince some people, that there was a design at that time to bereave

our Queen of her kingdom; these are her words, which follow:

"It is well known, that before the making of the treaty of Edinburgh, there was an intent discovered unto us, even by Lethington himself, whom afterwards she specially favoured, to deprive her of her crown: which motion we utterly rejected." I shall not positively affirm that this proposal was to set up my Lord Prior, but surely it must have consisted with his knowledge; for he and Lethington were at that time very gracious; and it is not likely that his lordship would have readily consented that any other person should have occupied that room. But the Prior's own conduct and actions afford the strongest evidence. After they had made their league with England (to which he subscribes in the first place), and by the assistance of the English army had got the town of Leith evacuated, they began in their way to settle their reformation; but neither of the two competitors could find the means to seize the government into his own hands: for the one always opposed the other, by all the means that could be invented. The young Earl of Arran, finding himself entirely frustrated of his high expectations, turned frantic on the disappointment, of which he never recovered.

The King of France happening to die in the year 1560, the Queen began to think of returning to her kingdom of Scotland; on which occasion there was one deputation sent to attend her by the Roman Catholics, and another by the Protestants, and this last was no other than the Prior himself, who, in his way, took advice with Queen Elizabeth and her ministers, how he should behave himself. When he

waited on the Queen, he proposed some things for the satisfaction of his dear crony Queen Elizabeth; and for his own part he sought only the Earldom of Murray, by way of gratification for his travel, and that the Queen should constitute him governor of Scotland till she herself should return, with some ecclesiastical benefices to be bestowed among his most trusty friends. But the Queen would dispose of none of these things till she should arrive herself in Scotland, and take the advice of her own nobility. The Prior, thus disappointed, returns home through England; and having learned all that he could, about the time and other particulars relating to his sovereign's return to Scotland, he acquainted Queen Elizabeth, and would needs have her to cause intercept Queen Mary in her passage. Camden says expressly, "That James the bastard having a little before returned through England, gave advices under-hand to intercept her, both for Elizabeth's security, and the interest of religion." He adds, "That Lethington advised the same thing, lest if she should return, she should raise wonderful tragedies, cut off their intercourse with the English, depress the faction that favoured them," &c. for which he cites Lethington's letters.

Camden's veracity hath indeed been called much in question in late times, because he tells some ungracious truths. But his vouchers are still extant, and in particular, this letter of Lethington has been published by Bishop Keith; and it contains expressions rather stronger than Camden's translation has them. Thus, besides the things already cited from Camden—"She will not be served (says Lethington) with those that bear any good-will to England: some quarrel shall be picked with them; not directly for religion at the

first; but where the accusation of heresy would be odious, men must be charged with treason. The like of this, I think, hath been seen in Queen Mary's days. A few number thus disgraced, dispatched, or dispersed, the rest will be an easy prey; and then may the butchery of Bonner plainly begin," &c.

The English Queen did not fail to follow the Prior's counsel. She absolutely refused either to allow Queen Mary to pass through England into Scotland, or to grant a safe conduct. And a fleet was actually fitted out, and put to sea, for apprehending her in her passage: but they missed their aim; for the Queen arrived safely in Scotland upon the xix day of August, MDLXI, notwithstanding all their anxiety to intercept her. But when she came, she found that no suitable preparations had been made for her reception; because the persons who at that time took the management of affairs upon them, were in hopes that she would never come, but fall into the hands of the English, to be murdered by them at that time.

I know how Elizabeth, by her letters to Queen Mary herself, denied that there were any ships sent to intercept her, or that any such thing was ever designed.—"Whereas it seems (says she), that report hath been made to you, that we had sent our admiral to the seas, with our navy, to impesch your passage; both your servants do well understand how false that report was, considering for a truth, that we have not any more than two or three small barks upon the seas to apprehend certain pirates, being thereto intreated, and, in a manner, compelled thereto, by the earnest request of the ambassador of our good brother the King of Spain, made to us of certain of your subjects, Scotsmen, haunting our seas as pirates, under pretence

of letters of marque." Thus far Elizabeth. But her Lord Keeper Bacon, in a speech that he delivered in the privy council of England, in the year 1562, against an interview proposed betwixt Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth, expressed himself in a quite different strain. "Again (says he), by the continual offence that the Queen of Scots and the house of Guise's friends took within their breasts daily, for that the Queen hath not ***, nor that she and they desire she should now have. A matter of itself doubtless sufficient to continue any old displeasure, or to breed a new; whatever shew or countenance, by word or promise, be made to the contrary.

"Besides, think you that the Scottish Queen's suit, made in all friendly manner, to come through England, at the time she left France to come into Scotland, and the denial thereof, except the treaty were ratified, is by them forgotten? or else your sending of your ships to sea at the time of her passage? Now, doubtless, to speak as I think, these and the rest, which you remember as well as I, were able to make her, though before well disposed, to be clean otherwise given; and then much more to continue, with some increase, the old conceived affection towards this realm, especially seeing it is joined with ambition to a kingdom: and as our doings, on our side, have deserved no change of their affection, but rather the maintenance of the old displeasure, with increase, no more ought we to hope for at their hands." Thus he, and truth has a good face. After what hath been said, any person who can doubt, but that the English sent out a squadron to intercept Mary, and that too by the counsel, consent, and approbation of the Prior of St.

Andrew's, and his accomplices, must be a sceptic indeed in history.

The sudden death of King Henry II. of France, and the death of King Francis II., Queen Mary's husband, so soon thereafter, threw her affairs into great disorder. Upon the death of Queen Mary of England in November 1558, King Henry, her father-in-law, and one of her curators, in conjunction with the other two curators, her uncles, had thought fit that she should take the title and arms of Queen of England; and had they done any thing less, they had been blame-worthy, as very negligent of the trust reposed in them, for she unquestionably had the right in her person, as far as such right can be conveyed by legitimate descent, joined with proximity of blood, and supported by the laws and general practice. 'Tis well known that King Henry VIII. of England, and his parliaments, had declared both his daughters bastards. After he came to the crown, he had married Katharine of Spain, his brother's widow, by a dispensation from the Pope; but after he had lived with her about eighteen years, casting his eye upon Anne Bolen, one of her maids, he began to plead great scruples and qualms of conscience about the legality of his marriage; and it is almost incredible what pains and expences he bestowed, to have it believed throughout all Europe, and declared by the most famous universities at home and abroad, that he had lived all that time in incest, not to mention how many lives this matter cost. He much wanted that the Pope would give the same declaration, but could not obtain it; therefore he shook off his authority, took the power in his own hands, and, by the assistance of

Dr. Thomas Cranmer, whom for that end he had made Archbishop of Canterbury, he divorced his wife, and then he and his parliament declared his daughter Mary an incestuous bastard, and incapable to succeed to the crown. But before all this could be accomplished, King Henry's conscience began to discover itself; for Anne Bolen had first become with child to him, so he married her privily upon the xxv of January, got his wife divorced 23d of May, and had his daughter Elizabeth born to him by Anne Bolen upon the 7th day of September, 1533.

But the worst of it is, that, after all, Anne Bolen was in the same degree of affinity with Henry VIII. as his former wife. This appears very evidently from a bull which he desired from the Pope. A bull, "by which his marriage with Katharine was to be declared null and invalid, because she was his brother's widow; so that he might lawfully marry any other woman: and in consequence of such declaration of the nullity of that marriage, he might be dispensed with to marry any other woman lawfully, and with her to live freely in that marriage, and beget lawful issue therein; even though she should be such a woman as had already contracted marriage with another man, provided she had not consummated that marriage by carnal knowledge; and although she should be related to Henry himself, in the second or more remote degree, of consanguinity, or in the first degree of affinity, *ex quocunque, licito seu illicito, coitu,* provided she was not his said brother's widow." With other provisos of less moment.

The Pope Clement VII. being at that time very much oppressed by Charles V. the Emperor, was very loth to disoblige Henry, so he granted the bull in the

very terms as he desired it, upon the xvii day of December, 1527, not above a week after he had been freed from prison in the castle of St. Angelo; but he inserted a small clause in it, by which he rendered it quite void; for he granted it only with this proviso, "That Henry's contract of marriage with the said Katharine should be first declared to have been, and still to be null and invalid;" the determination of which point he reserved to himself, as reason required; and it is well known that he could never be prevailed upon to allow that it was a null marriage: and in truth, to have allowed or determined otherwise, had been to break down all barriers, and quite to overturn and invalidate the most solemn and sacred ties and obligations upon earth.

It is a matter worthy of our observation, that at the time of granting this bull, Henry VIII. and his council acknowledged and took it for granted, with the most of mankind, that the Pope had such a dispensing power: but when they found that he would not go all their lengths, they cried out loudly that he had it not; and it is more than probable, that if the Pope had come into Henry's measures, to do this manifest piece of injustice, his authority had still been as great in England, or rather greater, than in any other nation in the world, as it had formerly been. So inconsistent are some men rendered by their irregular passions and appetites.

But as to the view of desiring such an extraordinary and extravagant bull. What could it be that troubled Henry VIII., his conscience, that he pressed so earnestly to have his first marriage dissolved, as incestuous, because his wife was related to him in the first degree of affinity; and yet to desire that he should be autho-

rized to marry another, not only related to him in the same degree, but also one who had contracted already with another man? And by what means imaginable had Henry got women related to him in that degree, with whom he had designed to marry? Why truly he had kept for a mistress Mary Bolen, sister to Anne Bolen, whom, upon fixing his fancy on Anne, he discarded, and caused William Carey, whom he called gentleman of his privy chamber, to marry her. This Anne had contracted already with Henry Piercy, the Earl of Northumberland's eldest son, who, being a young unexperienced man, and having the opportunity of being frequently at court in Cardinal Woolsey's train, was easily kidnapped by such a designing young woman, and had contracted to marry her; till his father, perceiving conscientious Henry's inclinations, with terrible threats, disswaded him from pursuing so dangerous game; and hence it is that Henry desires, not only that he should have a dispensation to marry a woman related to him in the first degree of affinity, but also, "although that woman should have been contracted with another man."

If this explanation of a deed, being in itself so grossly scandalous and abominable, shall seem rash and uncharitable, to be made at this distance of time, 'tis hoped the testimony of Cardinal Pool, will be of some weight to support it. The Cardinal, whose integrity no man hitherto has attacked with success, addresses Henry VIII. in these words: "Had ye left your wife, because ye persuaded yourself that the law pronounced that marriage wicked and abominable, would ye not have taken the most particular care, that you should not a second time pollute yourself with such another marriage? Would ye not have abstained altogether

from such persons as were in the same, or even a worse condition, than your former wife? You could not have done otherwise, had you acted from any motive proceeding from the law; but you must have detested them who would have advised you to any such mariage, or even who would make mention of it in your presence. What is she with whom ye joined yourself in your divorced wife's room, and what kind of person? Is she not the sister of one, whom ye first deflowered, and long thereafter kept with you as a concubine? She is actually the person. By what means then do you perswade us that ye avoid unlawful marriages? Was ye in this case unacquainted with the law, which in reality no less prohibits to marry a woman with whose sister you had made yourself one flesh, than her with whom your brother was one flesh? Is the one to be detested? So is also the other. Yea you of all men knew best. But how doth this come to my knowledge? Even because at that very time, when ye was rejecting the Pope's dispensation, ye strove with great keenness with the same Pope, to have a licence granted you for marrying the sister of her who had been your concubine, and obtained it, upon this condition, that it should first be made manifest that the Pope had not the power of granting a dispensation in the former case. Doth not then this very woman, whom ye now have for a wife, most plainly show what your purpose was? Doth not God, through her person, let her be silent, make it evident to all men, that you made mention of the law to serve your lust, and not out of compliance with God's commandment? But there is another thing which lays your mind yet further open: for this business about your brother's wife, is of less moment by far. Why so? Because

although his wife, whose nakedness the law forbiddeth thee to uncover, was married in the face and view of the church, she came to thee a virgin: but I suppose thou wilt not say that thou didst leave a virgin, the sister of that woman whom thou now hast, &c." On account of this free language, Henry sought to have the Cardinal assassinated, and afterwards put his mother the Countess of Salisbury to death; although he had desired the Cardinal to tell him his mind freely upon the subject.

King Henry caused his daughter Mary to acknowledge herself to be an incestuous bastard, and in the XXV year of his reign, an act of parliament was made, settling the succession to the crown upon his younger daughter Elizabeth, failing his male issue: to the strict observation of which settlement, he got his parliament the next year to take an oath. Yet surely, if his first marriage was incestuous, so was the second; but if his eldest daughter was legitimate, the second was begotten in adultery. Henry soon after having set his affections on another woman, puts Anne Bolen to death, and the very next day marries mistress Jane Seymour: and then both his daughters are declared illegitimate by another act of parliament, in the XXVIII year of his reign. But after that he got an act of parliament declaring it lawful for both of them to succeed after other, according to their seniority, and authorizing him to limit the succession after them by his patent, or by his latter will, as should please him. And his good pleasure was to exclude the posterity of his eldest sister, grandmother to Queen Mary of Scotland.

Kings have frequently taken the assistance of their parliaments, or councils, to oppress some of their

subjects, and deprive them of their rights; and subjects are often obliged to sit down quietly under such oppression: but independent sovereigns are on another footing; for one of them, though supported by all his subjects, is not to pretend to deprive his equal of his just right and title, unless he designs to entail a war and other hardships upon his people: for princes will not tamely allow themselves to be so cut out, for the mere humour and caprice of an unreasonable tyrant, or any unjust acts of inconsistent parliaments. And had King Henry II. of France lived any time longer, or even his son King Francis II. they could not have failed to vindicate the right of the Queen of Scots to the crown of England, against all such spurious issue as Elizabeth the daughter of Henry VIII. But they happening to die so soon after one another, France became less interested in that matter, and perhaps were not over fond of seeing the British kingdoms fairly united under one lawful sovereign, lest they might happen to create as great disturbance to France as the English had formerly done, while their kings held ample possessions in that kingdom, not so much by their own force or valour, as by raising intestine war and commotions, and by assisting one half of the natives to destroy the other.

The troubled state of Scotland was another bar against Queen Mary's obtaining or pursuing her right to the throne of England. Our countrymen who had declared for the Reformation, were all joined in a confederacy with her rival Queen Elizabeth; which greatly distracted her counsels when she returned out of France. It is not to be doubted but that her inclination was to have had for her council and officers of state, men chiefly of her own religion: but then the

reformers, conscious of their own demerits and danger, would never have been quiet. And although these who would have stood up for the Queen or the Roman Catholic religion, might have been an overmatch for the others, yet they could not have stood against the English too, who would have been very ready to join in extirpating them all, and dethroning the Queen herself. She therefore proposed to gain the others by kindness and favours; allowed them the full exercise of their religion, as she found it set up among them, however illegally and turbulently; gave them an ample indemnity; and admitted the chiefs of them into the administration of her affairs, and upon her council: and the Prior of St. Andrew's became her prime minister; and by that means had a great opportunity of pursuing his project of usurping the crown. He precluded her other subjects from all access to her Majesty, except through him only; and he had not born rule above a year, till he had laid plots for cutting off the principal men in the kingdom, who, he thought, might thwart him in his views; some of whom he got put to death, and others shut up in prison: he also joined in alliance against the Queen's allies abroad, and levied soldiers whom he sent to join with their enemies against them, without the Queen's knowledge; a thing which none of our historians have taken notice of except Lindsay of Pitscottie, who writes, that in the year MDLXII five hundred light horsemen went out of Scotland to France, for support of the congregation, the Queen not knowing thereof. That it was so, is now made plain by the original papers published by Dr. Forbes. The French Protestants had that year put the English in possession of Dieppe, Havre de Grace, and other adjacent villages and forts upon the

coast of France: on which account the English were to set up Protestantism in France. But matters did not succeed according to their wishes or expectations; for the Duke of Guise, uncle to Queen Mary, called the Mars of France, having chiefly by his own single personal valour, recovered the battle of Dreux, after the Constable of France had in a manner lost it, the rebels had no kind of success after that, and the English were either driven out, or obliged to quit all these places, and the Scots were almost all cut off in defending them. Some few of them had been apprehended and hanged by the Constable of France, with papers on their heads, declaring that this was done, because they had come against their sovereign's will, to the service of the Huguenots. It was at first given out that these were Englishmen, about which the English raised a great deal of clamour: but after it came to be known that they were Scotsmen, there was no more ado about the matter.

All the advantage that the confederates reaped by this war was, that, during it, they prevailed with one Poltrot, one of the Duke of Guise's gentlemen, to assassinate his master the Duke, whom the reformers dreaded more than any other man in the world. The felon's heart failed him, after he had engaged to execute this horrid undertaking; but Theodore de Beze, who acted as the second Protestant Pope, encouraged him to proceed, using words in French to this purpose; "Go to, Sir; take courage; the angels will assist you."

Two of our contemporary historians, Buchanan and Knox, behave very strangely with respect to this great man and his murderer.

Buchanan even commends Poltrot for this very action; and having long before written a poem, in

which he most deservedly praised the Duke, for his famous defence of Metz against the Emperor, he afterwards struck out the Duke's name, and inserted another man's, to whom that praise did not belong: yet is the Duke highly extolled by him in another of his poems, written upon his taking of Calais from the English, and justly too; for he was called the protector of his country by the parliament of Paris. Knox tells the story in these words, "God had stricken that bloody tyrant the Duke of Guise, &c." of which expressions and behaviour, I leave every man to judge for himself.

While the Earl of Murray was thus treasonably assisting the French rebels, without his sovereign's knowledge, he was also pursuing high matters at home, even to cut off the Duke of Chastelherault's family and the Earl of Huntly's, with the Earl of Bothwell. This last Earl, though perhaps the most staunch Protestant among them all, upon christian or moral principles, was extremely hated by the rest, because he not only would not join in that rebellion by which they first set up their reformation, but also opposed them; and being informed by the Queen Dowager, that money was to be sent from England for supporting that rebellion, he having good opportunity, by being lieutenant of the marches of Scotland, seized it, and wounded Cockburn of Ormiston, one of the conductors of it. For which reason the congregationers rifled his houses, carried off his charter-chest, and bore him deadly hatred ever after. The Earl of Arran, who, as hath been said already, had been seized with a frenzy, kept a perpetual grudge at him on this account. The Queen and council had endeavoured in vain to make up this difference: but at last it was done in all appearance by means of the Earl of Murray, then only Earl of

Mar, and John Knox. The latter brought about the reconciliation betwixt Arran and Bothwell, and then Arran and Murray were made umpires in the quarrel betwixt Bothwell and the Laird of Ormiston. Blessed are the peace-makers! But the Earl of Bothwell had no great cause to be thankful on this occasion; because thereby his life and fortune were endangered; for within four days after this reconciliation, they prevailed with Arran to accuse him and Gavin Hamilton, Abbot of Kilwinning, his own kinsman, as having conspired to take the Queen and to put her in Arran's own hands, in the castle of Dumbarton; and to slay the Earl of Murray and secretary Lethington, and others who then were of the ministry: of all which he acquainted the Queen herself by a letter, and brought in even his own father the Duke, as accessory to these designs. The Duke confined him to his chamber; whence he wrote to the Earl of Murray in cyphers, a detail of his grievances, and that he was in fear of his life, unless he should be suddenly rescued; which was a very direct way to bring about the destruction of his father, and his whole family. Soon thereafter he made his escape from his confinement; and the Earl of Murray, glad of an opportunity that might be improved to cut off the next heirs to the crown, convoyed him to the Queen, then at Falkland, where he again repeated all his stories; upon which the Duke had the castle of Dumbarton taken from him, and the Earl of Bothwell, and Abbot of Kilwinning were committed to prison; and although there appeared about Arran at that time plain evidences of a distempered brain (for he talked of wonderous signs that he saw in the heavens; imagined that he was bewitched, and would needs get into the Queen's bed, alledging that he was married to her)

yet neither could the Earl nor the Abbot get themselves set at liberty, till the former made his escape privily. Arran being further examined about these things, stood to his accusation of the Earl of Bothwell, but began to deny that his own relations knew any thing of the matter, or intended any violence against him; alledging that he had been inchanted to speak and write the contrary formerly.

The Gordons were another potent tribe, whose ruin was projected at this juncture: and this was the occasion laid hold of for that purpose. Alexander Lord Ogilvie had taken to wife, at his second marriage, one of the Earl of Huntlie's sisters, and for her dowry had infeft her in a large portion of his lands in liferent. After his death, it seems, she exchanged that liferent with her brother the Earl, for some other consideration; and he seems to have given it to his son Sir John Gordon, who had married his own cousin, the Lord of Ogilvie's daughter, who seems to have been provided in some share of her father's lands for her portion; for she is called Lady Findlater in public deeds. James Lord Ogilvie, son of Alexander, wanted to succeed to the whole, but the law allowed him not: therefore he picks a quarrel with Sir John, and, together with his own servants, attacks him and his servants on the street of Edinburgh, upon the 27th of June, 1562. Some of John Gordon's servants were hurt, but the aggressor was dangerously wounded. Both were committed to prison; but Sir John finding himself hardly used already, and likely to be still worse treated, made his escape out of the prison of Edinburgh. Being afterwards cited to appear before the Queen and her council, he came and submitted himself before her in the tolbooth of Aberdeen, entring himself prisoner, to

remain there, or to go to any other prison, as it should please her Majesty. The Queen ordered him to go and remain prisoner in the provost of Aberdeen's lodgings, till she should declare her further pleasure in that matter: which he did. They had prevailed upon the Queen to raise some forces, and to go to the northern parts of the country in the end of August, having first modelled and framed her council to their minds, so as only four, with her secretary, and three or four officers of state, should attend at once, for two months, and after them other four for the next two months, and so on. The four who attended her to the north, were the Earls of Argile, Marishal, Mar, afterwards Murray, and Morton. When the Queen came to Aberdeen, Huntly and his lady came, with a good train, to wait upon her Majesty, and were graciously received. When she came to Inverness, the governor of the castle for the Earl of Huntly, was all of a sudden required to surrender it, who having demurred some short time, surrendered it indeed, and was forthwith hanged. His name was Gordon. John Knox tells us, that Sir John Gordon had commanded this captain to hold out the castle, and had promised him relief. But that could not well be, for this was upon the third of September, and Sir John had only been charged upon the first of that month to quit his prison in the provost of Aberdeen's house, and enter himself prisoner in the castle of Stirling, within seven days, under the pain of treason: which charge he did not obey. Therefore, upon the 10th of that month, there is an act of these counsellors, finding that he had incurred the pains of treason; and commanding him and his wife and others, to deliver his houses of Findlater and Auchindown to the Queen's officers, who was to give the charge within

xxiv hours, under the pain of treason and forfeiture. And some soldiers were sent to lie about his house of Findlater, who staid in Cullen, and were byhim surprised, and their captain made prisoner, and the rest disarmed or slain.

This was an outrage to which it would seem, he was prompted by the worthy privy council, who that very day enacted, that if the Earl of Huntly, his father, and his friends, should not appear within a very short space, (even next day, if we may trust the printed copy of the act. I have not access to the original at present) he and they should be denounced rebels, and that he should be divested of all places of strength. We find by the acts of their council, that a considerable number of gentlemen of his sirname did make their appearance before the Queen upon the xxvi day of that month of October, and found surety under very high penalties, to enter their persons in prison, wherever they should be commanded, without any kind of reason given or alledged against them.

It would seem that the Earl himself was upon his way to do the like: but the godly Prior of St. Andrew's, who had got himself sometime before made Earl of Mar, and during this very expedition, had exchanged that Earldom for the Earldom of Murray, to which Huntly had a sort of claim, was loth to allow that Huntly should ever be received into favour again. He and his associates had, in the Queen's name, raised the inhabitants of the shires of Stirling, Fife, Angus, Mearns, and Strathern, and the Queen had before that time a good number of men of the more northern counties about her. Over all these, Murray got himself made the Queen's lieutenant, with a commission to pursue Huntly and his children and friends with fire

and sword. Huntly was coming forward, as Murray's admirers say (for this is a very dark piece of history), with three hundred men. It is to be remarked, that, according to the custom of that time, a man of his station and power never went upon any considerable errand without a grand retinue: but Murray lay in his way at Corrichie, with more thousands than he had hundreds. 'Tis said there ensued a battle or engagement; but it doth not appear that any one of Huntly's attendants ever drew a sword: their historians affirm, that not one of his opponents was slain. He had his choice of very brave men; and to say that he came with even three hundred of them, and did not so much as kill or hurt any of his opponents, is plainly to say, that he intended not to fight. But whether his surrender was voluntary or not, is all one; for he was immediately smothered, and then it was given out that he died suddenly in their custody. They kept his corpse unburied all that winter, and then forfeited him and all his posterity, in the month of May: and that they might cut off all the tribe of his sirname, they forged treasonable letters in the Earl of Sutherland's name, pretending that they found them in the dead man's pocket; upon which they forfeited him, together with Huntly, and all the gentlemen of note of that clan. Sir John Gordon was immediately beheaded, or rather butchered by an unskilful executioner. Adam, one of his younger brothers, although under age, was destined to undergo the same fate; but the Queen would by no means consent to the execution. George, Huntly's eldest son, was with the Duke of Chastelherault, his father-in-law, and was obliged to enter himself prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh, and afterwards in the castle of Dunbar. He also was forfeited, without

receiving so much as a citation, or copy of his inditement; nay, they refused to read his inditement in his hearing*, before the choosing of the jury. In it he was accused of treason committed against the Queen's person and the whole nobility that were with her at Inverness: yet did some of these very persons compose a part of his jury, and the rest were of their relations. After he was committed to prison in Dunbar castle they either forged, or surreptitiously obtained a warrant to be signed by the Queen, directed to the governor of the castle, for putting the Lord Gordon to death. But the governor suspecting some fraud, came in person to see the Queen, and pretended that he had executed her commands. The Queen denied that ever she had given such orders: so he produced the warrant, which gave her great uneasiness; but he soon relieved her, by acquainting her that he had not yet obeyed the cruel order; and the Queen discharged him from doing so upon any terms, whatever orders he might receive, if it was not from her own mouth.

After Murray had thus got the Hamiltons, the Gordons, and the Earl of Bothwell either cut off, imprisoned, banished, or brought under, he began to discover his views more openly. He became excessively fond of the name of Stewart; he recounted the laudable acts of that family, and how well the kingdom had been governed under them; and it was great grief to him that the crown was likely to devolve upon another family; and for preventing that, he proposed to the Queen to have the crown entailed upon some persons of her own sirname, and that he himself should be the first person in the entail. The Queen would not

* Act of reduction in the records of parliament, 1567.

hearken to the proposal of defrauding the true heirs; but took the opportunity, from this ambitious view of Murray's, to call home the Earl of Lenox, with whose son she had some thoughts of marrying, and that by advice of her uncle the Cardinal of Lorraine, who considered that the English might perhaps set up that young man, in opposition to her, in the right of succession to the throne of England. Murray also went the more readily into the proposal of restoring Lenox, because he knew that he would be a keen enemy to the Hamiltons, whom they both hated mortally.

The English court had also their particular sinister views with regard to the Earl of Lenox. In general they hoped, that by this means some disturbance and commotions would be raised in Scotland: and in particular, they expected to have got the Lady Margaret Douglas, his wife, declared a bastard, that so they might debar her and her posterity from any claim to the crown of England. It seems that the Douglases had given them hopes that they would bring that matter about, in order to deprive her of the Earldom of Angus. But Queen Mary prevented their designs; she restored the Earl of Lenox to his own Earldom, and got his Lady to yield her right to the Earldom of Angus to the heir-male.

In the month of February 1565, Henry Lord Darnly, Lenox's son, came to Scotland, and was well received by the Queen, which raised envy against him immediately. This envy increased more and more, after it became known that her Majesty had a mind to marry him, in so much that there were designs soon formed to cut him off, as may be seen in the letters of Thomas Randolph, the English resident in Scotland at that time, in one of which, bearing date the 2d day of

July, 1565, he says, "What shall become of him (Darnly) I know not; but it is greatly to be feared that he can have no long life among this people." In another of the 21st of that month, Randolph writes, that upon an indiscreet answer which Darnly had given him, he had told Darnly expressly, 'that he hoped to 'see the wreck and overthrow of as many as were of 'the same mind with him,' which was pretty plain language. Randolph did cabal with the malecontents, was made privy to their designs, and promoted and encouraged them, being authorised so to do.

The Queen held a great convention of her estates at Stirling, upon the xiv day of May, in which they gave their consent to the marriage. George Buchanan writes that the Earl of Murray, perceiving that there would be no freedom of voting at that meeting, chose rather to be absent, than to give an opinion which perhaps might prove fatal to himself, and unprofitable to the publick. And that Andrew Stewart, Lord Ochiltree alone declared openly, that he would never give his consent to the taking a king of the popish party. But the privy council book shews that Murray was actually present, and Ochiltree was not present that day.

The parliament was appointed to meet at Edinburgh, upon the xx day of July, and a convention to be holden at Perth upon the 10th day of June, for preparing matters to be transacted in that parliament. But the meeting of the parliament was prorogued to the first of September; and it did not hold at all, because matters did soon take a new turn. For the Earls of Murray, Argyle, and others, entered into a conspiracy in the town of Perth, to slay the Lord Darnly, together with his father, and divers others who were about the Queen at that time, and to have shut

herself up prisoner in Lochlevin all the days of her life, and Murray to take the government upon himself.

These grand projects were to have been put in execution upon Sunday the first of July. The Queen being at Perth, had promised to the Lord Livingston to stand godmother to his child, who was to be baptized that day at his house of Calendar: but the day before, she was advertised that there were ambushes laid in the way for intercepting her; for which purpose Murray was stationed at Lochlevin, Argyle at Castle-Campbell, and the Duke of Chastelherault at Kinneil. The Queen therefore caused the Earl of Athol and the Lord Ruthven, to assemble suddenly about three hundred men, to accompany her, and taking her journey at five o'clock in the morning, she rode full speed to the Queensferry, and thus frustrated their designs at that time, which nevertheless they continued to pursue in another manner.

This conspiracy is no dubious matter; it is acknowledged and attested by most of the nobility and clergy of Scotland, and among them, by three, who were either of the number of the primary conspirators, or joined with them, to wit, the Earl of Argyle himself, the Earl of Rothes, and Lord Boyd, as has been said already; they add, that many who were in counsel with Murray, and drawn in ignorantly, could then testify it; but to pretend ignorance as an excuse for themselves in an affair of this nature, is a very lame apology; yet was it impossible to alledge a better.

The English resident Randolph, who acted in concert with the conspirators, writes upon the fourth day of July, 'that the Duke, and the Earls of Argyle and Murray had made a band to defend each other, and to assist each other in lawful causes.' Such bands are

seldom made but for unlawful causes; and that it was not otherwise in this case, Randolph knew well, although perhaps he did not, at that time, know the whole articles of their band; for he had acquainted Cecil, upon the second of July, of a conference that he had with Murray some time before, by which it is plain, that they had engaged to rise in open rebellion. "With my Lord of Murray, (says he), I have lately spoken. He is grieved to see these extreme follies in his sovereign! He lamenteth the state of this country, that tendeth to utter ruin! He feareth that the nobility shall be forced to assemble themselves together, to do her honour and reverence, as they are in duty bound, but at the same time, to provide for the state, that it do not utterly perish; the whole country being now broken, and every man living in such discontentment, as they do. The Duke, the Earl of Argyle and he concur in this device: many others are like to join them in the same. What will ensue, let wise men judge: I can think but little good, to those that are the chief occasion of these great alterations that lately are come amongst us, &c." Towards the end of this same letter, he tells that he was asked the question, "Whether the English would receive Lenox and Darnly, if they should be delivered to them at Berwick? And that his answer was, that they neither could nor would refuse their own, in what sort soever they came to them." Which was but coldly answered. It would seem that Randolph's choice was to have them delivered dead, rather than alive; for he knew that their death, at least the young man's, was projected a month before this; for upon the third of June he expresses himself in these words: ('David now worketh all, and is the only governor to the King. The hatred

towards the King and his family is very great; his pride in words intolerable. People have small joy in this their new master, and find nothing but that God must find him a short end, or them a miserable life. The dangers of these he now hateth are great: but they find some support, that what he intendeth to others, may light upon himself.')

In another of his letters he informed Cecil, Queen Elizabeth's secretary, that these confederates had appointed divers of their number to set upon Darnly after his marriage, who were either to kill him, or die themselves; and that if Queen Elizabeth would assist them, they made no doubt but that they should be able to chase their own sovereign Queen into England. Bishop Keith hath already published an abstract of this letter, and there is another abstract of it in the Cottonian library, in these words, as it was transmitted to me: "September 3. The Lords were forced from Edinburgh. From Hamilton, they are gone to Drumlanrig, whose Lord taketh part with them: from thence either to Drumfries or Carlisle. The Queen suspects Morton; yet hath he not wit to leave her. She weareth a pistol charged, when in the field; and of all her troops, her husband only has gilt armour. Divers of the other side are appointed to set upon the Queen's husband, and either kill him, or die themselves: they expect relief of more money from England: much promised, but little received as yet. If her Majesty will now help them, they doubt not but one country will receive both the Queens."

Thus it is as clear as needs be, that the murder of the King, the imprisoning the Queen in Lochlevin, the chasing her into England, and Murray's taking the government upon him, were matters all devised, agreed

on, and communicated to the English Queen and her ministers, about eighteen months or upwards, before any of them took effect: and they failed not at last to accomplish every article of them.

Richard Bannatyne, one who had been amanuensis to John Knox, and was appointed by the general assembly of the kirk, in March 1573, to draw up in order the papers and scrolls that Knox had left behind him, for the continuation of his history, narrates, in that continuation, a story about Knox's having joined in the band, or covenant, that was entered into for murdering Darnly. "Mr. Robert Hamilton, (says he), minister of St. Andrew's, had spread abroad, and told to sundries, that Mr. Knox was as great a murderer as any Hamilton in Scotland, if all things were well tried; and therefore should not cry out so fast against murderers: for, said Mr. Robert, he had subscribed to the death or slaughter of the Queen's husband, the Lord Darnly, with my Lord of Murray; which should have been done in St. Johnston. These words Mr. James Hamilton declared to me, being Mr. Knox's servant; and also said, that the said Mr. Robert had divers times spoken the same unto him, and to one called Mr. John Carnegie, another Regent at that time in the new college of St. Andrew's. Which words, when I heard, I said, I could not of any honour conceal the same, but would avow him to be the speaker thereof to me; and willed him not to go back therewith.

"After that I had declared the words to my master, he wrote to Mr. Robert in this manner, being evil at ease for the time:

"There is nothing so secret but it shall be revealed."

"Because the inability of my body is such, I may not do the thing which otherwise I gladly would, I write unto you, not without pain, these few

words, desiring to be resolved, whether that ye have affirmed to one or more, that ye have seen my subscription and consent to the murder of Lord Darnly. Of your own conscience and knowledge ye yourself can best testify. I crave your answer affirmative or negative."

Subscribed, "JHONE KNOX."

"Which I delivered the xv of November, in *anno* 1571, and required his answer. But his shifting words, spoken to me, might have made any man sufficiently believe, that he had spoken the same. But after long talk, he willed me to give this answer, That he needed not to have written unto him; for if he would have sent the least boy to his house, he should have come to him, to satisfy him: which words I reported again.

"Thereafter my master shewed the matter to the rector Mr. John Douglas, now made bishop, and to Mr. John Rutherford, desiring them to speak to Mr. Robert, to satisfy this slander, or else to abide by it, or if he would not, that he would complain to the kirk. Thereafter came said Mr. Robert, and talked with my master. What it was, I know not; but when I came in upon them, my master willed me to shew him that I told him it; which I confessed, and shewed who spake the same to me: which when I heard, I said I could not, neither of honesty, nor honour, conceal the same; adding further, that if I knew my master to be such a man, I would not serve him for all the gear in St. Andrew's.

"Then the trial of the matter was referred to me Richard Bannantyne, by command of my master; whereof I thought Mr. Robert had little will, or none at all. After finding opportunity, I confronted the said Mr. James and Mr. Robert together * * *, which he denied; but the other affirmed in his face to be most true, that he had so spoken, not only unto him, but also unto Mr. John Carnegie, to bring Mr. Knox in

hatred and disdain. Mr. Robert said he should cause the other repent his speaking, and that he should have him before the kirk, to make the amends. Then I said, if ye be innocent, and have not spoken it, ye will do so; but if that be not done, it may easily be known that ye have spoken the same. But there was no more of it, excepting that he said he should cause Mr. James repent it; which he and the rest of the Hamiltons did what they could, till at length he was compelled to leave the college. Others mocked him, calling him Knox's bird, with such other taunts. God grant them repenting hearts, to acknowledge their despite which they have against that poor man, because he had a favour to Mr. Knox."

From this simple narrative, it is to be observed, that although in our days, this horrid conspiracy, which was formed while the Queen was at Perth, is little known, it has been pretty well known formerly. None of the parties concerned in this recounter, do either deny, or call in question, that there was such a conspiracy at that time, into which the Earl of Murray and his associates entered, and that by subscription too: on the contrary, they all talk of it, as a known uncontroverted matter of fact. And Knox's waving all prosecution, and hushing up the business, by referring the care and enquiry about it to this silly fellow his servant, is more than a tacit acknowledgment that he was on that plot, and a subscriber. It was not to be expected that Knox would willingly incur the pains of high treason, by acknowledging a thing of this nature. No! even Hamilton durst not avow publickly that he saw the deed, with the subscriptions, for to have seen it, and concealed it, was treason too: but no man who is toler-

ably acquainted with Knox's temper, writings and actions, will believe that he would have dropt the matter so, had he been innocent.

The Queen and Lord Darnly having escaped the ambuscade which was laid for them at the kirk of Baith, upon the first day of July, and the plot taken air; the conspirators, to put some face upon the matter, began to turn the cannon, and to proclaim that Darnly, in the back gallery of the Queen's lodging in Perth, had devised to murder Murray: and this was confidently affirmed by the Earl of Argyle, and by Murray himself. Had it even been so, little would it have justified them, who had entered into a combination against him and the Queen too, near three months before he came to Perth*. But as it was most false, and very slanderous upon Darnly, and even prejudicial to the Queen herself, Mr. John Hay, her Majesty's master of requests, and Mr. Robert Crichton her advocate, were sent by the privy council to these two earls, upon the xvii day of July, "to command and charge them, in the Queen's name, upon their allegiance, and as they would declare themselves faithful subjects and noblemen, to declare, plainly and uprightly, the words and bruit made to them of said alledged conspiracy; the form and manner of it, and the name of the reporter; and that they should put their declaration in writing, and subscribe it with their hands, and send it by the master of requests and advocate to her Majesty: certifying them, that if they should delay, or in any way conceal the simple truth of the matter, to the effect that it might be brought to a clear trial, that her

* Letter from Randolph, Elizabeth's ambassador.

Majesty would think no otherways of them, but that they themselves had feigned and invented that bruit and tale, out of their own heads."

But this could not be done. Murray affirmed, "that he was content to come to her Majesty for declaration of the truth of the report made to him, as to the alledged conspiracy of his slaughter in St. Johnston, provided he might be assured of his life:" than which there could be no greater juggling or trifling. For, if he had any suspicion that his life was in danger if he should come to the Queen, why should he offer to come? He had only been required to send a true account of the report of the device to murder him, the form and manner of it, and the reporter's name; in which surely there could be no kind of danger. And who can doubt but that he would have done this, if he could, or if there had been the least grain of truth in the story? However, to cut off this pretence also, the Queen and council, with a great convention of the nobility, upon the xix day of July, sent him a very ample "assurance for his life, and that he should be free from all bodily harm: that neither he, nor any of his company should be molested, or in any sort grieved, or troubled, in bodies or goods, in their coming and repairing towards her Majesty, remaining or departing, and while he and they should be returned to the same place from whence they came, in full liberty, at their pleasure." Along with this assurance the Queen sent a charge by an officer of arms, that he should make his appearance before her within three days after he should receive it.

But this condescension availed nothing: Murray had nothing to say for himself: but he caused the Lord Erskine and Sir John Maxwell to acquaint the Queen,

"how ardent his desire was to declare the due obedience which he owed to her Majesty; and for discharging of himself of such bruites as had been reported by him, with regard to the alledged conspiracy of his slaughter!" Upon this, a new assurance was sent to him, upon the 28th day of July, the day before her marriage with Darnly, which served to no manner of purpose; for Murray's plot was only to drive away time, till he and his associates should be in readiness to appear in arms against the Queen and her husband. They had already made application to Queen Elizabeth for money, to enable them to carry on their rebellion. On the fourth day of July, immediately after disappointment in their plot for slaying Darnly and seizing the Queen, they had made Randolph write to Cecil, "that lest they should seem to desire any such sum, as the greatness thereof should seem a burden to her Majesty, and that way discourage her altogether from doing any thing at all; they thought, that if her Majesty would bestow only three thousand pounds sterling, for that year (except some force were brought in against them), that they should be able very well to bring this realm in rest and quietness; and the money to be bestowed, as they would answer to God, as should be most apparent to the well of both the countries, and furtherance of these two principal causes [religion and amity with England] in the defence of which they promise, and have sworn, to adventure their bodies, and spend their goods, to the uttermost of their powers."

Queen Elizabeth animated them by a letter the 10th of that month—"that so long as they intended nothing but the maintenance of true religion, to the honour of God, and consequently uphold their sovereign's estate, and did also nourish the amity between the two realms,

she should allow them, and so esteem of them, as in all just and honourable causes they should find her to regard their state and continuance." Desiring Randolph to assure them, "that they doing their duty, if by malice, or practice, they should be forced to any inconveniency, they should not find lack in her, to regard them in their truth!"

Encouraged by these hints and promises, and having received money from England, the rebels, who had hitherto lurked in small parties, in different places, began to assemble themselves together, and then broke out in open and avowed rebellion. The Queen raised forces also; the Earl of Bothwell she called home, and the Lord Gordon she relieved out of prison, upon sureties given, in order to be restored to his father's estate, and that she might have the assistance of these two against her most ungrateful and truly unnatural rebels and traitors. She marched out herself at the head of her army, about the 26th day of August, to pursue them. When she was come to St. Andrew's, there came to her hands a very imperious letter from these rebels, of which no better account is to be had than from the proclamation made in the King and Queen's name, upon their receiving it: viz. "That as in this uproar lately raised up against us, by certain of our rebels and their assisters, the authors thereof, to seel the eyes of the simple people, have given them to understand, that the quarrel which they had in hand was only religion, thinking with that cloke, to cover their other ungodly designs; and so, under pretence of that plausible argument, to draw after them a large tail of ignorant persons, easily to be seduced: now, for preservation of our good subjects, whose case were to be pitied, if they blindly should be suffered to be

entrapped in so dangerous a snare, it hath pleased the goodness of God, by the utterance of their own mouths and writings to us, to discover the poison that before lay hid in their hearts; albeit to all persons of clear judgment, the same was evident enough before. For what other thing might move the principal raisers of this tumult, to put themselves in arms against us, so unnaturally, upon whom we had bestowed so many benefits, but that the great honour we did unto them, they being thereof most unworthy, made them to misknow themselves? And that their insatiable ambition could not be satisfied with heaping riches upon riches, and honour upon honour, unless they might receive in their hands us, and our whole realm, to be led, used, and disposed at their pleasure? But this could not the multitude have perceived, if God, for disclosing of their hypocrisy, had not compelled them to utter their unreasonable desire to govern. For now, by letters sent from themselves to us, they make plain profession, That the establishing religion will not content them; but we must perforce be governed by such council as shall please them to appoint unto us: a thing so far beyond all measure, that we think the only mention of so unreasonable a demand, is sufficient to make their nearest kinsfolk their most mortal enemies, and all men to run on them, without further scruple, that are zealous to have their native country to remain still in the state of a kingdom.

"For what else is this, but to dissolve the whole policy, and, in a manner, to invert the very order of nature? To make the prince obey, and the subjects to command! The like was never demanded of any of our most noble progenitors heretofore: yea, not of governors nor regents, but the princes, or such as occupied

their place, ever choose their council of such as they thought most fit for the purpose.

"When we ourselves were of less age, and at our first arrival in our realm, we had free choice of our council, at our pleasure: and now, when we are at our full majority, shall we be brought back to the state of pupils and minors? or be put under tutelage?

"So long as some of them bore the whole swing with us themselves, this matter was never called in question: but now, when they cannot be longer permitted to do, and undo, all things at their appetite, they will put a bridle in our mouths, and give us a council chosen after their fantasy.

"This is the quarrel of religion, which they made you believe they had in hand! This is the quarrel for which they would have you to hazard your lives, lands, and goods, in company of certain rebels, against your natural princes! To speak it in good language, they would be kings themselves; or at the least, leaving to us the bare name and title, take to themselves the whole use and administration of the kingdom.

"We have thought good to make publication hereof unto you, to the end ye suffer not yourselves to be deceived, under pretence of religion, to follow them, who, preferring their particular advancement to the public tranquillity, and having no care of you, in respect of themselves, would, if ye will hearken to their voice, draw you after them, to your utter destruction, assuring you, that, as you have heretofore had good experience of our clemency, and under our wings enjoyed in peace the possession of your own goods, and lived at liberty of your conscience; so may ye be in full assurance of the like hereafter, and have us always your good and loving princes, so many as shall

contain yourselves in due obedience, and do the office of faithful and natural subjects. Given under our signet, and subscribed with our hands, at St. Andrew's the third day of September, and of our reign the first and XXIII years."

After this the Queen returned by Dundee, taking sureties and bands from divers persons for keeping the peace; and being informed that the rebels had come to Edinburgh, she came thither also; but they had been forced from that city long before her coming, and had gone to Lanerk and Hamilton, and after that to Dumfries, to which place she pursued them, and chased them into England, about the 8th day of October.

The following letter will illustrate the intentions, activity, and promptitude of Elizabeth, by her *secret* support of the rebels in exile; and at the same time, her anxiety to avoid publicity of her conduct. This plotting occurred in the same year of Mary's marriage with Darnly.

THE QUEEN TO THE EARL OF BEDFORD*.

"Upon the advertizements lately received from you, with such other things as came also from the Lord Scrope and Thomas Randolph, and upon the whole matter well considered, we have thus determined. We will, with all the speed that we can, send to you 3000*l.* to be thus used. If you shall certainly understand that the Earl of Murray hath such want of money, as the interesting to him of 1000*l.* might stand him instead for the help to defend himself, you shall presently let him *secretly* to understand, that you will, as of yourself, let him have so much, and so we will that you let him have, in the most secret sort that you can, when the said sum shall come to you, or if you can, by any good means, advance him some part there before hand.

"The other 2000*l.* you shall cause to be kept whole, unspent, if it be not that you shall see necessary cause to imprest some part thereof to the pow numbers of the 600 footmen and 100 horsemen; or to the casting out of

* 11th September, 1565, from the State Paper office.

wages of such workmen, as by sickness, or otherwise ought to be discharged. And where we perceive, by your sundry letters, the earnest request of the said Earl of Murray and his associates, that they might have, at the least, 300 of our soldiers, to aid them. And that you also write, that though we would not command you to give them aid, yet if we would but wink at your doing herein, and seem to blame you for attempting such things, as you with the help of others should bring about, you doubt not but things would do well; you shall understand for a truth, that we have no intention, for many respects, to maintain any other princes subjects, to take arms against their sovereign; neither would we willingly do any thing to give occasion to make wars betwixt us and that prince, which has caused us to forbear, hitherto, to give you any power to let them be aided with any men.

"But now, considering we take it, that they are pursued, notwithstanding their humble submission, and offer to be ordered and tried by law and justice; which being refused to them, they are retired to Domfrese, a place near our west marches, as it seemeth there to defend themselves, and adding thereunto the good intention that presently the French King pretendeth, by sending one of his to join with some one of ours, and jointly to treat with that Queen, and to induce her to forbear this manner of violent and rigorous proceeding against her subjects, for which purpose, the French ambassador here with us has lately written to that Queen, whereof answer is daily looked for, to the intent in the mean time the said lords should not be oppressed and ruined, for lack of some help to defend them; we are content and do authorize, if you shall see it necessary for their defence, to let them, (as of your *own adventure*, and without notifying that you have any *direction* therein *from us)* to have the number of 300 soldiers, to be taken either in whole bands, or to be drawn out of all your bands, as you shall see cause. And to *cover* the *matter* the better, you shall send these numbers to Carlisle, as to be laid there in garrison, to defend that march, now in this time that such powers are on the other part drawing to those frontiers, and so from thence as you shall see cause to direct of, the same numbers or any of them may most covertly repair to the said lords, when you shall expressly advertise, that you send them that aid only for their defence, and not therewith to make war against the Queen, or to do any thing that may offend her person, wherein you shall so precisely deal with them, that they may perceive your care to be such as if it should otherwise appear, your danger should be so great, as all the friends you have could not be able to save you towards us. And so we assure you our conscience moveth us to charge you, so to proceed with them, for otherwise than to preserve them from ruin, we do not yield to give them aid of money or men: and yet we would not that either of these were known to be *our act*, but rather to be covered with your *own* desire and attempt."

After Murray and his associates were driven out and banished, perceiving that they had not sufficient strength to cope with the Queen, they had recourse to stratagem; and they and their favourers unhappily fell upon a method to disturb all her affairs, by means of one of whom it was not to have been expected, even by the weakness and rashness of her own husband.

The Queen had already done him all the honours that lay in her power. She restored his father to his Earldom, and had created himself Earl of Ross and Duke of Albany: yea, by the consent of a convention of the three estates, she had married him, and given him the title of King, ordaining, "That all letters to be directed after the marriage, and during the continuance thereof, should be in his name and her name, as King and Queen of Scotland conjunctly. All honour, says Randolph*, that may be attributed unto any man by a wife, he hath it wholly and fully. All praise that may be spoken of him, he laketh not from herself. All dignities that she can endow him with, are already given and granted. No man pleaseth her that contenteth not him. And what may I say more? She hath given over unto him her whole will, to be ruled and guided as himself best liketh. She can as much prevail with him in any thing that is against his will, as your lordship may with me, to persuade that I should hang myself. This last dignity, out of hand, to have him proclaimed King, she would have had deferred until it were agreed by parliament, or till he himself had been twenty one years of age, that things done in his name might have the better authority. He would in

* Letter from Randolph to Leicester, 31st July, 1565. Cotton. Libr. Cal. B. 9, fol. 218.

no case have it deferred one day; and either now or never."

This, by the bye, shews how uncautious the forgers of the pretended letters to Bothwell have been, for in them this King Henry is represented as the most humble and complaisant husband to his Queen that ever was in the world. It ought to have been so indeed: but the direct contrary is certain, not only from this letter, but from many other documents, some of which shall appear immediately.

The Earl of Murray, and all his accomplices in the rebellion, being driven out of the kingdom, and most justly declared fugitives, the young King thought there could be no further danger; and that there remained nothing now to be done, but that he should aggrandize himself as much as possibly could be done; and therefore wanted to get the matrimonial crown, that is, to be crowned as King during the marriage, without delay. This was a thing that could not be done regularly, or effectually without consent of parliament, and on or before the first day of December, the parliament had been appointed to meet upon the 4th day of February next to come, MDLXVI, in which this matter was to have been treated, and the rebels, his enemies, who causelessly sought his life, were to have been forfeited; and this was a proper time. But that meeting of the parliament was prorogued till the 7th day of April, as is most usual in such cases; for it is well known that parliaments seldom assemble upon the day first appointed; but sometimes after two or three consecutive prorogations. This delay, however, raised the young King's choler to a very high degree. There were at court, and on the privy council, some traitors, who were in the interest of the banished rebels, and at the

devotion of the Queen of England and her courts more particularly James Douglas Earl of Morton, and Patrick Lord Ruthven. Of the same number were Patrick Lord Lindsay, a forward inconsiderate man, and divers others of less note. These men, especially the two first named, perceiving the King to stomach this disappointment, began to lament his bad usage. What pity it was that such a graceful hopeful prince, should be thus thwarted in his just designs! And such a husband to be in a kind of subjection and dependency upon his wife, was against the order of nature; for she in all things ought to be subservient and obedient to her husband's will and inclination. This could be owing to nothing but the sinister advices of her new evil counsellors; such as the Earls of Huntly, Bothwell and Athole, with the Lords Fleming and Livingston, Sir James Balfour, and David Rizio, her secretary for her affairs in France. Unless these people be taken out of the way, there were small hopes that he would soon attain to that which he so much desired and deserved. But had he been so fortunate as to have had the Earls of Murray, Argile, and Rothes on the council, a man of his desert had not been so slightingly set by or put off. These were the men who had the welfare of their native country at heart! men truly religious! sincere lovers of justice and equity! and who paid always due regard to virtue and true merit! But the rest studied nothing, but their own preferment and private interests. A very lamentable case! But what remedy?

By these and the like false and treacherous assertions and insinuations, the King being blinded with ambition, was seduced. He began to listen to their proposals, and even his father Lenox entered into their measures.

Murray, in a state of perfect desperation, had used all the interest that could be thought of with every person that could be supposed to have the least influence to prevent his forfeiture, from the English Queen, Elizabeth, down to David Rizio, Queen Mary's secretary for her foreign affairs; but all in vain; till Darnly, whom of all men he most hated, took up this frozen viper to warm it in his bosom, who, in all human probability, must otherwise have perished, or pined away in misery. By which means he procured himself to be murdered, his father to be slain, his mother to be poisoned, and his matchless Queen to be murdered: only his son, then unborn, narrowly escaped destruction: but the influence of this single act extended itself much further, even to the murder of his grandson, and the dethroning and exiling his great grand-children and posterity.—GOODALL.

After the death of the Regent, the Earl of Lenox was considered the person who had the best claim to the government of the kingdom, and that honour was conferred upon him in a convention of the whole party, held on the 12th of July, 1570.—EDITOR.

The Regent's first care was to prevent the meeting of the parliament, which the Queen's party had summoned to convene at Linlithgow. Having effected that, he marched against the Earl of Huntly, Mary's Lieutenant in the north, and forced the garrison, which he had placed in Brechin, to surrender at discretion. Soon after, he made himself master of some other castles. Emboldened by this successful beginning of his administration, as well as by the appearance of a considerable army, with which the Earl of Sussex

hovered on the borders, he deprived Maitland of his office of secretary, and proclaimed him, the Duke, Huntly, and other leaders of the Queen's party, traitors and enemies of their country.

In this desperate situation of their affairs, the Queen's adherents had recourse to the King of Spain, with whom Mary had held a close correspondence ever since her confinement in England. They prevailed on the Duke of Alva, to send two of his officers to take a view of the country, and to examine its coasts, and harbours; and obtained from him a small supply of money and arms, which were sent to the Earl of Huntly. But this aid, so disproportionate to their exigencies, would have availed them little. They were indebted for their safety to a treaty, which Elizabeth was carrying on, under colour of restoring the captive Queen to her throne. The first steps in this negotiation had been taken in the month of May; but hitherto little progress was made in it. The peace concluded between the Roman Catholics and Hugonots in France, and her apprehensions that Charles would interpose with vigour in behalf of his sister-in-law, quickened Elizabeth's motions. She affected to treat her prisoner with more indulgence, she listened more graciously to the solicitations of Foreign ambassadors in her favour, and seemed fully determined to replace her on the throne of her ancestors. As a proof of her sincerity, she laboured to procure a cessation of arms between the two contending factions in Scotland.

Lennox, elated with the good fortune, which had hitherto attended his administration, and flattering himself with an easy triumph over enemies, whose estates were wasted, and their forces dispirited, refused, for some time, to come into this measure. It was not safe

for him, however, to dispute the will of his protectress. A cessation of hostilities during two months, to commence on the third of September, was agreed upon; and being renewed from time to time, it continued till the first of April next year.

Soon after, Elizabeth dispatched Cecil and Sir Walter Mildmay to the Queen of Scots. The dignity of these ambassadors, the former her prime minister, the latter chancellor of the exchequer, and one of her ablest counsellors, convinced all parties that the negotiation was serious, and that the hour of Mary's liberty was *now* approaching. The propositions, which they made to her, were advantageous to Elizabeth, but such as a prince, in Mary's situation, had reason to expect. The ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh; the renouncing any pretensions to the English crown, during Elizabeth's own life, or that of her posterity; the adhering to the alliance between the two kingdoms; the pardoning her subjects, who had taken arms against her; and her promising to hold no correspondence, and to countenance no enterprise, that might disturb Elizabeth's government; were among the chief articles.

By way of security for the accomplishment of these, they demanded that some persons of rank should be given as hostages; that the prince her son should reside in England, and that a few castles on the border should be put into Elizabeth's hands. To some of these propositions Mary consented; some she endeavoured to mitigate; and others she attempted to evade. In the meantime, she transmitted copies of them to the Pope, to the Kings of France and Spain, and to the Duke of Alva. She insinuated, that without some timely and vigorous interposition in her behalf, she would be obliged to accept of these hard conditions, and to

purchase liberty, at any price. But the Pope was a distant and feeble ally, and by his efforts against the Turks, his treasury was entirely exhausted. Charles had already begun to meditate that conspiracy against the Hugonots, which marks his reign with such infamy; and it required much leisure, and perfect tranquillity, to bring that execrable plan to maturity. Philip was employed in fitting out that fleet, which acquired so great renown to the christian arms, by the victory over the infidels at Lepanto; the Moors in Spain threatened an insurrection; and his subjects in the Netherlands, provoked by much oppression, and many indignities, were breaking out into open rebellion. All of them, for these different reasons, advised Mary, without depending on their aid, to conclude the treaty on the best terms she could procure.

Mary, accordingly, consented to many of Elizabeth's demands, and discovered a facility of disposition, which promised still further concessions. But no concession she could have made, would have satisfied Elizabeth, who, in spite of her repeated professions of sincerity to foreign ambassadors, and notwithstanding the solemnity with which she carried on the treaty, had no other object in it, than to amuse Mary's allies, and to gain time. After having so long treated a Queen, who fled to her for refuge, in so ungenerous a manner, she could not now dismiss her with safety. Under all the disadvantages of a rigorous confinement, Mary had found means to excite commotions in England, which were extremely formidable. What desperate effects of her just resentment might be expected, if she were set at liberty, and recovered her former power? What engagements could bind her, not to revenge the wrongs she had suffered, nor to take advantage of the favour-

able conjunctures that might present themselves? Was it possible for her to give such security for her behaviour, in times to come, as might remove all suspicions and fears? And was there not good cause to conclude, that no future benefits could ever obliterate the memory of past injuries*? It was thus Elizabeth reasoned; though she continued to act as if her views had been entirely different. She appointed seven of her privy counsellors to be commissioners for settling the articles of the treaty; and as Mary had already named the Bishops of Ross and Galloway, and Lord Livingston, for her ambassadors, she required the Regent to empower proper persons to appear in behalf of the King. The Earl of Morton, Pitcarn, Abbot of Dunfermling, and Sir James Macgill were the persons chosen by the Regent. They prepared for their journey, as slowly as Elizabeth herself could have wished. At length they arrived at London, and met the commissioners of the two Queens. Mary's ambassadors discovered the strongest inclination to comply with every thing, that would remove the obstacles, which stood in the way of their mistress's liberty. But when Morton and his associates were called upon to vindicate their conduct, and to explain the sentiments of their party, they began, in justification of their treatment of the Queen, to advance such maxims concerning the limited powers of princes, and the natural right of subjects to resist and to controul them, as were extremely shocking to Elizabeth, whose notions of regal prerogative were very exalted. With regard to the authority which the King now possessed, they declared that they neither had, nor could possibly receive instructions, to consent

* Only phantoms—beings of the brain.—EDITOR.

to any treaty, that tended to subvert, or even to impair it, in the least degree. Nothing could be more trifling and ridiculous, than such a reply from the commissioners of the King of Scots, to the Queen of England. His party depended absolutely on her protection, her hand had seated him on the throne, and to her power he owed the continuance of his reign. With the utmost ease, she could have brought them to talk in a very different manner; and whatever conditions she might have thought fit to prescribe, they would have had no other choice but to submit. This declaration, however, she affected to consider as an insuperable difficulty. And finding that there was no reason to dread any danger from the French King, who had not discovered that eagerness in support of Mary, which was expected; the reply made by Morton furnished her with a pretence for putting a stop to the negotiation, till the Regent should send ambassadors with more ample powers. Thus, after being amused for *ten months* with the *hopes* of liberty, the unhappy Queen of Scots *remained under stricter custody* than *ever*, and without any prospect of escaping from it; while those subjects, who still adhered to her, were exposed, without ally or protector, to the rage of enemies, whom their success in this negotiation rendered still more insolent.—ROBERTSON.

Of all our historians, Buchanan alone avowedly accuses Mary of a criminal love for Rizio, 340, 344. Knox slightly insinuates that such a suspicion was entertained, 391. Melvil, in a conversation with the Queen, intimates that he was afraid her familiarity with Rizio might be liable to misconstruction, 110. The King himself seems, both by Melvil's account,

and by his expostulation with the Queen, which Ruthven mentions, to have given credit to these suspicions, Melv. 127. Keith, Append. 123, 124. That the King's suspicions were strong, is likewise evident. But, in opposition to these suspicions, and they are nothing more, we may observe that Raulet, the Queen's French secretary, was dismissed from her service, and Rizio advanced to that office in December 1564. Keith 268. It was in consequence of this preferment, that he acquired his great credit with the Queen, Melv. 107. Darnly arrived in Scotland about two months after, Keith, 269. The Queen immediately conceived for him a passion, which had all the symptoms of genuine and violent love. Rizio aided this passion, and promoted the marriage with all his interest, Melv. 111. During some months after the marriage, the Queen's fondness for Darnly continued. She soon proved with child. From this enumeration of circumstances, it appears almost impossible that the Queen, unless we suppose her to have been a woman utterly abandoned, could carry on any criminal intrigue with Rizio. But the silence of Randolph, the English resident, a man abundantly ready to mention, and to aggravate Mary's faults, and who does not once insinuate that her confidence in Rizio concealed any thing criminal, is in itself a sufficient vindication of her innocence.—WHITAKER.

OF THE MURDER OF MURRAY.

Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh was the person who committed the barbarous murder. He had been condemned to death soon after the battle of Langside, as we have already related, and owed his life to the Regent's clemency. But part of his estate had been bestowed upon one of the Regent's favourites, who

seized his house, and turned out his wife naked, in a cold night, into the open fields, where, before next morning, she became furiously mad. This injury made a deeper impression on him, than the benefit he had received, and from that moment he vowed to be revenged upon the Regent. Party rage strengthened and inflamed his private resentment. His kinsmen the Hamiltons applauded the enterprise. The maxims of that age justified the most desperate course he could take to obtain vengeance. He followed the Regent for some time, and watched for an opportunity to strike the blow. He resolved at last to wait till his enemy should arrive at Linlithgow, through which he was to pass, in his way from Stirling to Edinburgh. He took his stand in a wooden gallery, which had a window towards the street; spread a feather-bed on the floor, to hinder the noise of his feet from being heard: hung up a black cloth behind him, that his shadow might not be observed from without; and after all this preparation, calmly expected the Regent's approach, who had lodged during the night in a house not far distant. Some indistinct information of the danger which threatened him, had been conveyed to the Regent, and he paid so much regard to it, that he resolved to return by the same gate through which he had entered, and to fetch a compass round the town. But as the croud about the gate was great, and he himself unacquainted with fear, he proceeded directly along the street; and the throng of the people obliging him to move very slowly, gave the assassin time to take so true an aim, that he shot him with a single bullet, through the lower part of his belly, and killed the horse of a gentleman who rode on his other side. His followers instantly endeavoured to break into the house

whence the blow had come, but they found the door strongly barricaded; and before it could be forced open, Hamilton had mounted a fleet horse, which stood ready for him at a back passage, and was got far beyond their reach. The Regent died the same night of his wound.

There is no person, in that age, about whom historians have been more divided, or whose character has been drawn with such opposite colours. Personal intrepidity, military skill, sagacity and vigour in the administration of civil affairs, are virtues, which even his enemies allow him to have possessed, in an eminent degree. His moral qualities are more dubious, and ought neither to be praised, nor censured, without great reserve, and many distinctions. In a fierce age, he was capable of using victory with humanity, and of treating the vanquished with moderation. A patron of learning, which, among martial nobles, was either unknown, or despised. Zealous for religion, to a degree, which distinguished him, even at a time when professions of that kind were not uncommon. His confidence in his friends was extreme, and inferior only to his liberality towards them, which knew no bounds. A disinterested passion for the liberty of his country, prompted him to oppose the pernicious system, which the Princes of Lorraine had obliged the Queen-mother to pursue. On Mary's return into Scotland, he served her with a zeal and affection, to which he sacrificed the friendship of those who were most attached to his person. But, on the other hand, his ambition was immoderate; and events happened, that opened to him vast projects, which allured his enterprising genius, and led him to actions, inconsistent with the duty of a subject. His treatment of the Queen, to whose

bounty he was so much indebted, was unbrotherly and ungrateful. The dependance on Elizabeth, under which he brought Scotland, was disgraceful to the nation. He deceived and betrayed Norfolk, with a baseness unworthy of a man of honour. His elevation to such unexpected dignity, inspired him with new passions, with haughtiness and reserve; and instead of his natural manner, which was blunt and open, he affected the arts of dissimulation and refinement. Fond, towards the end of his life, of flattery, and impatient of advice, his creatures, by soothing his vanity, led him astray, while his ancient friends stood at a distance, and predicted his approaching fall. But, amidst the turbulence and confusion of that factious period, he dispensed justice with so much impartiality, he repressed the licentious borderers with so much courage, and established such uncommon order and tranquillity in the country, that his administration was extremely popular, and he was long and affectionately remembered among the commons, by the name of the Good Regent.—ROBERTSON.

Elizabeth bewailed his death, as the most fatal act that could have befallen her kingdom; and was inconsolable, to a degree that but little suited her royal dignity.—WHITAKER.

CHAP. XII.

The Massacre of Paris, and its evil Consequences to Mary—Plots against Elizabeth—A severe Statute, which proved fatal to Mary in the end—She quarrels with her Son James—Critical situation of Elizabeth—Her Prudence, and vigorous Conduct—Resolves to punish Mary, and gain the King, her Son—Proposes a League with Scotland, which is adopted by that Country.

THESE severe proceedings of the English parliament were not more mortifying to Mary, than the coldness and neglect of her allies the French. The Duke of Montmorency, indeed, who came over to ratify the league with Elizabeth, made a shew of interesting himself in favour of the Scottish Queen; but instead of soliciting for her liberty, or her restoration to her throne, all that he demanded was a slight mitigation of the rigour of her imprisonment. And even this small request, he urged with so little warmth or importunity, that no regard was paid to it.

The alliance with France afforded Elizabeth much satisfaction, and she expected from it a great increase of security. She now turned her whole attention towards Scotland, where the animosities of the two factions were still so high, and so many interfering interests to be adjusted, that a general pacification seemed to be at a great distance. But while she laboured to bring them to some agreement, an event happened which filled a great part of Europe with astonishment, and with horror. This was the massacre of Paris; an attempt, to which there is no parallel in the history of mankind, either for the dissimulation

which led to it, or for the cruelty and barbarity, with which it was put in execution. By the most solemn promises of safety and of favour, the leaders of the Protestants were drawn to court; and though doomed to destruction, they were received with caresses, loaded with honours, and treated, for seven months, with every possible mark of familiarity, and of confidence. In the midst of their security, the warrant for their destruction was issued by their Sovereign, on whose word they had relied; and, in obedience to it, their countrymen, their fellow citizens, and companions, imbrued their hands in their blood. Ten thousand Protestants, without distinction of age, or sex, or condition, were murdered in Paris alone. The same barbarous orders were sent to other parts of the kingdom, and a like carnage ensued. This deed, which no Popish writer, in the present age, mentions without detestation, was, at that time, applauded in Spain; and at Rome, solemn thanksgivings were offered to God, for its success.

But among the Protestants it excited incredible horror; a striking picture of which is drawn by the French ambassador at the Court of England, in his account of his first audience after the massacre. "A gloomy sorrow (says he) sat on every face; silence, as in the dead of night, reigned through all the chambers of the royal apartment; the ladies and courtiers were ranged on each side, all clad in deep mourning, and as I passed through them, not one bestowed on me a civil look, or made the least return to my salutes."

But horror was not the only passion, with which this event inspired the Protestants; it filled them with fear. They considered it as the prelude to some greater blow; and believed, not without much probability, that all the Popish princes had conspired the destruction of

their sect. This opinion did no small disservice to Mary's affairs in Scotland. Many of her adherents were Protestants; and, though they wished her restoration, were not willing, on that account, to sacrifice the faith which they professed. They dreaded her attachment to a religion, which allowed its votaries to violate the most solemn engagements, and prompted them to perpetrate the most barbarous crimes. A general confederacy of the Protestants seemed to them, the only thing that could uphold the Reformation against the league, which was formed to overturn it. Nor could the present establishment of religion be long maintained in Britain, but by a strict union with Elizabeth, and by the concurrence of both nations, in espousing the defence of it, as a common cause.

While Scotland was torn by intestine factions, Elizabeth was alarmed with the rumour of a project in agitation for setting Mary at liberty. Francis Throgmorton, a Cheshire gentleman, was suspected of being deeply concerned in the design, and on that suspicion he was taken into custody. Among his papers were found two lists, one of the principal harbours in the kingdom, with an account of their situation, and of the depth of water in each; the other, of all the eminent Roman Catholics in England. This circumstance confirmed the suspicion against him, and some dark and desperate conspiracy was supposed just ready to break out. At first he boldly avowed his innocence, and declared that the two papers were forged by the Queen's ministers, in order to intimidate or insnare him; and he even endured the rack with the utmost fortitude. But being brought a second time to the place of torture, his resolution failed him, and he not only acknowledged that he had held a secret correspondence with the

Queen of Scots, but discovered a design that was formed to invade England. The Duke of Guise, he said, undertook to furnish troops, and to conduct the enterprise. The Pope and King of Spain were to supply the money necessary for carrying it on; all the English exiles were eager to take arms; many of the Catholics at home would be ready to join them, at their landing; Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, who was the life of the conspiracy, spared no pains in fomenting the spirit of disaffection among the English, or in hastening the preparations on the Continent; and by his command, he had made the two lists, the copies whereof had been found in his possession. This confession he retracted at his trial; returned to it again, after sentence was passed upon him; and retracted it once more at the place of execution.

To us in the present age, who are assisted in forming our opinion of this matter, by the light which time and history have thrown upon the designs and characters of the Princes of Guise, many circumstances in Throgmorton's confession appear to be extremely remote from truth, or even from probability. The Duke of Guise was, at that juncture, far from being in a situation to undertake foreign conquests. Without either power or office at court; hated by the King; and persecuted by the favourites, he had no leisure for any thoughts of disturbing the quiet of neighbouring states, and his vast and ambitious mind was wholly occupied in laying the foundation of that famous league, which shook the throne of France. But about the time Elizabeth detected this conspiracy, the close union between the House of Guise and Philip II. was remarkable to all Europe, and as their great enterprise against Henry III. was not yet disclosed, as they endeavoured

to conceal that under their threatenings to invade England, Throgmorton's discovery appeared to be extremely probable; and Elizabeth, who knew how ardently all the parties mentioned by him wished her downfal, thought that she could not guard her kingdom with too much care. The indiscrete zeal of the English exiles increased her fears. Not satisfied with incessant outcries against her severity towards the Scottish Queen, and her cruel persecution of her Catholic subjects, nor thinking it enough that one Pope had threatened her with the sentence of excommunication, and another had actually pronounced it, they now began to disperse books and writings, in which they endeavoured to persuade their disciples, that it would be a meritorious action to take away her life; they openly exhorted the maids of honour to treat her as Judith did Holofernes, and by such an illustrious deed, to render their own names honourable and sacred in the church, throughout all future ages. For all these reasons, Elizabeth not only inflicted the punishment of a traitor on Throgmorton, but commanded the Spanish ambassador instantly to leave England; and that she might be in no danger of being attacked within the island, she determined to use her utmost efforts, in order to recover that influence over the Scottish councils, which she had for some time entirely lost.

About the same time of the pretended conspiracy, Elizabeth's life was endangered by a real one. Parry, a doctor of laws, and a member of the house of commons, a man vain and fantastic, but of a resolute spirit, had lately been reconciled to the church of Rome; and fraught with the zeal of a new convert, he offered to demonstrate the sincerity of his attachment to the religion which he had embraced, by killing

Elizabeth. Cardinal Allen had published a book, to prove the murder of an excommunicated prince to be not only lawful, but a meritorious action. The Pope's Nuncio at Venice, the Jesuits both there and at Paris, the English exiles, all approved of the design. The Pope himself exhorted him to persevere; and granted him, for his encouragement, a plenary indulgence, and remission of his sins. Cardinal di Como wrote him a letter to the same purpose. But though he often got access to the Queen, fear, or some remaining sense of duty, restrained him from perpetrating the crime. Happily, his intention was at last discovered by Nevil, the only person in England to whom he had communicated it; and he himself having voluntarily confessed his guilt, he suffered the punishment which he deserved*.

These repeated conspiracies against their sovereign, awakened the indignation of the English parliament, and produced a very extraordinary statute, which, in the end, proved fatal to the Queen of Scots. By this law, the association in defence of Elizabeth's life was ratified, and it was further enacted, "that if any rebellion shall be excited in the kingdom, or any thing attempted to the hurt of her Majesty's person, by or for any person pretending a title to the crown, the Queen shall empower twenty-four persons, by a commission under the Great Seal, to examine into, and pass sentence upon such offences; and after judgment given, a proclamation shall be issued, declaring the persons whom they find guilty, excluded from any right to the crown; and her Majesty's subjects may lawfully pursue every one of them to the death, with

* State Trials, vol. i. 103.

all their aiders and abettors: and if any design against the life of the Queen take effect, the persons by or for whom such a detestable act is executed, and their issues, being any wise assenting or privy to the same, shall be disabled for ever from pretending to the crown, and be pursued to death in the like manner*." This act was plainly levelled at the Queen of Scots; and whether we consider it as a voluntary expression of the zeal and concern of the nation for Elizabeth's safety, or whether we impute it to the influence which that artful Princess preserved over her parliaments, it is no easy matter to reconcile it with the general principles of justice or humanity. Mary was thereby rendered accountable not only for her own actions, but for those of others; in consequence of which, she might forfeit her right of succession, and even her life itself.

Mary justly considered this act as a warning to prepare for the worst extremities. Elizabeth's ministers, it is probable, had resolved, by this time, to take away her life; and suffered books to be published, in order to persuade the nation, that this cruel and unprecedented measure was not only necessary, but just. Even that short period of her days which remained, they rendered uncomfortable, by every hardship and indignity which it was in their power to inflict. Almost all her servants were dismissed; she was treated no longer with the respect due to a Queen; and though the rigour of seventeen years' imprisonment had broken her constitution, she was confined in two ruinous chambers, scarce habitable, even in the middle of summer, by reason of cold. Notwithstand-

* State Trials, vol. i. 123.

ing the scantiness of her revenue, she had been accustomed to distribute regularly some alms among the poor in the village adjoining to the castle. Paulet now refused her liberty to perform this pious and humane office, which had afforded her great consolation amidst her own sufferings. The castle in which she resided, was converted into a common prison; and a young man, suspected of popery, was confined there, and treated under her eye with such rigour, that he died of the ill usage. She often complained to Elizabeth of these multiplied injuries, and expostulated as became a woman and a Queen; but as no political reason now obliged that Princess to amuse her any longer with fallacious hopes, far from granting her any redress, she did not even deign to give her any answer. The King of France, closely allied to Elizabeth, on whom he depended for assistance, was afraid of espousing Mary's cause with any warmth; and all his solicitations in her behalf were feeble, formal, and inefficacious. But Castelnau, the French ambassador, whose compassion and zeal for the unhappy Queen supplied the defects in his instructions, remonstrated with such vigour against the indignities to which she was exposed, that, by his importunity, he prevailed at length to have her removed to Tuthbury; though she was confined the greater part of another winter in her present wretched habitation.

Neither the insults of her enemies, nor the neglect of her friends, made such an impression on Mary, as the ingratitude of her son. James had hitherto treated his mother with filial respect, and had even entered into negotiations with her, which gave umbrage to Elizabeth. But as it was not her interest that this good correspondence should continue, Gray, who, on

his return into Scotland, found his favour with the King greatly increased by the success of his embassy, persuaded him to write a harsh and undutiful letter to his mother, in which he expressly refused to acknowledge her to be Queen of Scotland, or to consider his affairs as connected, in any wise, with hers. This cruel requital of her maternal tenderness, overwhelmed Mary with sorrow and despair. "Was it for this (said she, in a letter to the French ambassador), that I have indured so much, in order to preserve for him the inheritance, to which I have a just right? I am far from envying his authority in Scotland. I desire no power there; nor wish to set my foot in that kingdom, if it were not for the pleasure of once embracing a son, whom I have hitherto loved with too tender affection. Whatever he either enjoys, or expects, he derived it from me. From him, I never received assistance, supply, or benefit of any kind. Let not my allies treat him any longer as a King; he holds that dignity by my consent; and if a speedy repentance does not appease my just resentment, I will load him with a parent's curse, and surrender my crown, with all my pretensions, to one who will receive them with gratitude, and defend them with vigour." The love which James bore to his mother, whom he had never known, nay, whom he had been early taught to consider as the most abandoned person of her sex, cannot be supposed ever to have been ardent; and he did not now take any pains to regain her favour. But whether her indignation at his undutiful behaviour, added to her bigotted attachment to popery, prompted Mary at any time to think seriously of disinheriting her son; or whether these threatenings were uttered in a sudden sally of disappointed affection, it is now no easy mat-

ter to determine. Some papers which are still extant, seem to render the former not improbable.

Cares of another kind, and no less disquieting, occupied Elizabeth's thoughts. The calm, which she had long enjoyed, seemed to be now at an end; and such storms were gathering in every quarter, as filled her with just alarm. All the neighbouring nations had undergone revolutions, extremely to her disadvantage. The great qualities which Henry III. had displayed in his youth, and which raised the expectations of his subjects so high, vanished on his ascending the throne; and his acquiring supreme power, seems not only to have corrupted his heart, but to have impaired his understanding. He soon lost the esteem and affection of the nation; and a life divided between the austerities of a superstitious devotion, and the extravagancies of the most dissolute debauchery, rendered him as contemptible, as he was odious on account of his rapaciousness, his profusion, and the fondness with which he doted on many unworthy minions. On the death of his only brother, those sentiments of the people burst out with violence. Henry had no children, and though but thirty-two years of age, the succession of the crown was already considered as open. The King of Navarre, a distant descendant of the royal family, but the undoubted heir to the crown, was a zealous Protestant. The prospect of an event so fatal to their religion, as his ascending the throne of France, alarmed all the Catholics in Europe; and the Duke of Guise, countenanced by the Pope, and aided by the King of Spain, appeared as the defender of the Romish faith, and the asserter of the Cardinal of Bourbon's right to the crown. In order to unite the party, a bond of confederacy was

formed, distinguished by the name of the Holy League. All ranks of men joined in it with emulation. The spirit spread with the irresistible rapidity which was natural to religious passions in that age. The destruction of the Reformation not only in France, but all over Europe, seemed to be the object and wish of the whole party; and the Duke of Guise, the head of this mighty and zealous body, acquired authority in the kingdom, far superior to that which the King himself possessed. Philip II., by the conquest of Portugal, had greatly increased the naval power of Spain, and had at last reduced under his dominion all that portion of the Continent which lies beyond the Pyrenean mountains, and which nature seems to have destined to form one great monarchy. William Prince of Orange, who first encouraged the inhabitants of the Netherlands to assert their liberties, and whose wisdom and valour formed and protected the rising commonwealth, had fallen by the hands of an assassin. The superior genius of the Prince of Parma had given an entire turn to the fate of the war in the Low Countries; all his enterprises, concerted with consummate skill, and executed with equal bravery, had been attended with success; and the Dutch, reduced to the last extremity, were on the point of falling under the dominion of their ancient master.

None of those circumstances to which Elizabeth had hitherto owed her security, existed any longer. She could derive no advantage from the jealousy which had subsisted between France and Spain; Philip, by means of his confederacy with the Duke of Guise, had an equal sway in the councils of both kingdoms. The Hugonots were unable to contend with the power of the league; and little could be ex-

pected from any diversion they might create. Nor was it probable that the Netherlands could long employ the arms, or divide the strength of Spain. In this situation of the affairs of Europe, it became necessary for Elizabeth to form a new plan of conduct; and her wisdom in forming it, was not greater than the vigour with which she carried it on. The measures most suitable to her natural temper, and which she had hitherto pursued, were cautious and safe; those she now adopted, were enterprising and hazardous. She preferred peace, but was not afraid of war; and was capable, when compelled by necessity, not only of defending herself with spirit, but of attacking her enemies with a boldness which averted danger from her own dominions. She immediately furnished the Hugonots with a considerable supply in money. She carried on a private negotiation with Henry III. who, though compelled to join the league, hated the leaders of it, and wished for their destruction. She openly undertook the protection of the Dutch commonwealth, and sent a powerful army to its assistance. She endeavoured to form a general confederacy of the Protestant Princes in opposition to the Popish League. She determined to proceed with the utmost rigour against the Queen of Scots, whose sufferings and rights afforded her enemies a specious pretence for invading her dominions. She resolved to redouble her endeavours in order to effect a closer union with Scotland, and to extend and perpetuate her influence over the councils of that nation.

She found it no difficult matter to induce most of the Scottish courtiers to promote all her designs. Gray, Sir John Maitland, who had been advanced to the office of secretary, which his brother formerly held,

Sir Lewis Bellenden, the justice clerk, who had succeeded Gray as the King's resident at London, were the persons in whom she chiefly confided. In order to direct and quicken their motions, she dispatched Sir Edward Wotton along with Bellenden into Scotland. This man was gay, well bred, and entertaining; he excelled in all the exercises for which James had a passion; and amused the young King by relating the adventures he had met with, and the observations he had made, during a long residence in foreign countries; but under the veil of these superficial qualities, he concealed a dangerous and intriguing spirit. He soon grew into high favour with James, and while he was seemingly attentive only to pleasure and diversions, he acquired influence over the public councils, to a degree which was indecent for a stranger to possess.

Nothing, however, could be more acceptable to the nation, than the proposal he made, of a strict alliance between the two kingdoms, in defence of the reformed religion. The rapid and alarming progress of the Popish League, seemed to call on all Protestant Princes, to unite for the preservation of their common faith. James embraced the overture with warmth, and a convention of estates empowered him to conclude such a treaty, and engaged to ratify it in parliament. The alacrity with which James concurred in this measure, must not be wholly ascribed either to his own zeal, or to Wotton's address; it was owing in part to Elizabeth's liberality. As a mark of her motherly affection for the young King, she settled on him an annual pension of 5000 pounds; the same sum which her father had allotted her before she ascended the throne. This circumstance, which she took care

to mention, rendered a sum, which in that age was far from being inconsiderable, a very acceptable present to the King, whose revenues, during a long minority, had been almost totally dissipated.—ROBERTSON.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Sir James Melvill, his Life and Character.

THE Queen Dowager of Scotland, out of mere compassion, sent this man, after his father's forfeiture and execution, to be a page of honour to the Queen her daughter, then in France, when he was about fourteen years of age. He was afterwards taken into the service of Anne de Montmorency, Constable of France. When the rebellion broke out in Scotland, upon pretence of religion, the year after the Queen's marriage, the King of France was informed that the Prior of St. Andrew's, then known by the designation of the Bastard of Scotland, afterwards Earl of Murray, was setting up for the crown; upon which he determined to send some trusty person to Scotland, to enquire diligently whether it was so, or what the rebels would be at. The Constable recommended Melvill, who, as he imagined, in consideration of the duty he owed to himself, would be faithful and diligent, and as being a Scotsman, might have the better opportunities to accomplish his errand.

Melvill, thus employed, applies himself to Throckmorton, the English ambassador in France, signifying that he could now be of some service to Queen Elizabeth his mistress. Throckmorton accordingly recom-

mends him to secretary Cecil for that purpose, by his letter dated 18th May, 1559, with a hint that he had done some services to him already. And upon the 4th of July thereafter, he recommended John Melvin, brother to this James, for a pension from the English court, to serve them against his country; who pleaded merit at their hands, because his father had lost his head, and he and his had been proscribed for England's sake. Upon the 27th of July he recommends both, but especially James: "I have not found any (says he), in my opinion, so meet to be used and entertained, for the Queen's majestie's service, as James Melvin, who is presently in Scotland, and is the Constable his servant. He is a man of good capacity, and hath sundry rare parts in him, not to be found in many: wherefore, I suppose, you shall do well to use the best means you can, if he come by you, to make him her Majestie's; for he shall be able to do her good service."

Sir James says, he was discharged to let his commission be known, either to the Queen Regent, or to D'Oysel, the King of France his Lieutenant in Scotland. Let them believe him who can! Who then was to be acquainted with it? Why, it seems he who knew best, even the Prior himself. To him at least Melvill applied, being introduced by Henry Balnaves of Halhill, one who had joined the murderers of Cardinal Beaton, to assist in keeping out his castle of St. Andrew's, for the behoof of Henry VIII. of England, and had been banished on that account, but was now returned to join in the rebellion, and was in great credit with the Prior. There the commission was produced, and the question put to his lordship. The reader may easily conjecture what answer would be returned: I also

leave it to him to judge whether this commission was not duly and honourably executed.

Melvill complains, that upon his return to France, King Henry II. being dead, and the Constable out of court, he found his voyage, and the answer he had got, all in vain. This he attributes to the House of Guise, whom he most injuriously blames as the chief instruments of all the troubles in Scotland. How great pity was it, that these Guises did not reward the gentleman according to his demerits! Yet he was rewarded, though from another quarter. He tells us himself, p. 46, that upon this very occasion he obtained a pension from Queen Elizabeth, at the instance of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, to help to entertain him in his travels. Doubtless he had deserved it, though his modesty hath not permitted him to tell how: for wherever we find Scotsmen getting pensions from the English court, we may pronounce them traitors to their native country, without any danger of being mistaken. But in the present case we have proof, as well as presumption.

Another singular instance of Melvill's fidelity and veracity, we have in his account of Christopher Roxby, one who had been employed by the Court of England as a spy, to pretend to be a zealous stickler for Queen Mary's title to that crown, to offer his service for carrying on a correspondence with such as favoured her in that kingdom, and to send an account of his discoveries to secretary Cecil, that means might be found out to cut off all who favoured her just right. Melvill informs us that Roxby addressed himself to the Queen by means of the Bishop of Ross, who was a Catholick; that by sundry intelligences sent to Cecil, he did great prejudice.

To gain Roxby the greater credit with the Queen of Scots, Queen Elizabeth complained by her ambassador Killigrew, that he was entertained in Scotland, and would needs have him delivered up.

This contrivance, Melvill says, was discovered by the vigilance of his brother Sir Robert Melvill, Queen Mary's ambassador in England, who in due time sent information to the Queen, and to him also: so that how soon Killigrew made his complaint, Queen Mary caused Roxby to be apprehended, with all his writings and cyphers, and amongst the rest, a letter from Cecil, which disclosed the whole correspondence.

Upon the 19th day of June Sir James Melvill himself was dispatched to England, to notify to Queen Elizabeth the birth of the Prince, and also, among other things, that Roxby was secured, and would be delivered when she inclined to call for him. This he says he did, and that Elizabeth seemed to be pleased as to Roxby, but forgot to send for him. In about two days Sir James took his leave, but did not return till he was furnished with wholesome instructions from his brother Sir Robert, for Queen Mary's behaviour with respect to the English, which he sets down at length, as from the original, and particularly for sending Roxby to be kept in a secure place far North, and for blasting the intelligence he had given; "For (says Sir James) the Bishop of Ross made the said Roxby's address to the Queen; for neither he, nor the Earl of Bothwell, desired her Majestie's affairs to prosper under my brother's management, because he was not of their faction: so that by their means Roxby got that intelligence as put all her Majestie's affairs once in a venture; until my brother's extraordinary intelligence, from such as were most inti-

mate with the Queen of England, made him cause apprehend the said Roxby, with his whole letters and memoirs, as said is. So are many good princes handled, and commonly their truest servants decourted, by the envy and craft of their factious enemies! For wicked men, who have lost their credit by trumpery and tricks, whereby they get no place to do good service to princes, essay to creep into their favour by wiles, flattery, and other unlawful means, whereby they may decourt such as surmount them in virtue and honest reputation."

The reader will, no doubt, be ready to allow that the Popish Bishop of Ross, and unsanctified Earl of Bothwell, well deserved this severe censure, for their envy and blundering politicks, which would have ruined all, had not these two Protestant brethren stood in the gap, like true knights, and rescued all. For who after this would imagine, or readily believe, that Sir James Melvill himself was the very man who introduced Roxby to the Queen? that the Popish Bishop of Ross was one of those who managed Roxby's affairs, and, no doubt, discovered him? or that he was not seized upon till after Sir James's return to Edinburgh? Yet that the matter was really thus, appears from two of Roxby's letters to Cecil, the one dated the second day of July, 1566, in which he says he had got a letter from Cecil, but had not as yet seen Killigrew, and desires further instructions. In the other, written after his release out of the castle of Spynie, in Murray, he plainly tells the story, that James Melvill introduced him to the Queen.

A man must have a large stock of reputation, who can bear up against such flagrant instances of treachery to his sovereign, and falshood in charging his

own faults upon innocent persons of character and worth. Many more examples might be brought of this kind, and his brother Sir Robert might be proved to have been as great a traitor as he himself, if it were necessary; and yet these two are almost the only heroes in his book.

I shall only take notice of one more of Melvill's stories, which, altho' it is of a much worse kind than a pure mistake, hath been laid hold of to the Queen's prejudice. He tells us, p. 78, that Lord Herries came to Edinburgh some time before the Queen went to Stirling (which was upon the 22d day of April, 1567), and acquainted her Majesty, "how it was currently reported through the country, that the Earl of Bothwell murdered the King, and that she was to marry him; earnestly requesting her Majesty, on his knees, against that marriage;" and insinuates that there arose no small animosity betwixt the Earl and Lord Herries upon that account. But nothing of this is true: Lord Herries, upon the 19th day of that very month of April, joined with the rest of the nobility and clergy in subscribing the bond, by which they approved of the Earl's acquittal by his peers, and engaged themselves to defend him against all who would accuse him afterwards of the King's murder, and to promote his marriage with the Queen, if it might please her to humble herself so far as to prefer one of her own subjects to foreign princes: and upon the xiv day of May, being the day before the solemnization of that marriage, he is one of the witnesses in the contract for it; and upon the xvii day we find the Lord Herries sitting in council with the Earl, then made Duke of Orknay. —GOODALL.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Love Letters—And the great Industry and Care of Elizabeth and Cecil in their Publication—Cruelty, in refusing Mary Copies, or sights of the Originals—Supposed to have been Forged—And serious Charges against the Queen of England, for encouraging the supposed Forgers.

It was never till this day insinuated by any of the partisans against Queen Mary, that the present French letters were vitiated translations. Not even Morton himself, nor Buchanan, who lived many years after the publication of these identical French letters now before us, ever objected to them, or said so; which it was incumbent on them to have done. The silence therefore of these two persons, who had the originals in their hands, is a clear testimony to the authenticity of the present French copy, which now stands in place of the original. That they are vitiated translations, was never pretended by any body, until Mr. Goodall proved them, to a demonstration, to be so. Every body must be sensible, that the concession now made by these gentlemen, would have come with a much better grace, had it been prior to Mr. Goodall's discovery: it therefore becomes incumbent upon the two historians now, since they give up their own copies, to produce the originals themselves, otherwise the pretended proofs of the Queen's guilt are blown in the air. Mr. Hume will perhaps tell us again, "That it is in vain, at this day, to object to the letters, or to call for the originals; they were regularly and judicially given in, and ought to have been canvassed at the

time." I heartily agree with him. Had the Queen remained silent at the time when Murray produced his letters, I think his argument must have been conclusive. But did she remain silent on that occasion? On the contrary, she cried aloud, that her adversaries had produced forged writings against her; she prayed in vain, by repeated supplications, that they might be inspected by her or her friends; and she undertook to prove the forgery. What was the result of all this? The letters are huddled back in haste to Murray and Morton, and they are sent a-packing to Scotland, with their evidence; so that the Queen to her dying hour never once saw them. What they did with them after that, there is nobody, at this day, can tell. We are told they are lost, and that is the sum of the story. The conclusion from this is left to every impartial person to infer, as he thinks fit.

But now that it is said the original letters in writing are lost, how is it possible to make good the accusation against the Queen? By the printed letters only, which were acquiesced in by the Queen's accusers while they lived. Let it be so. These letters have now been examined, and are detected to be vitiated and spurious. Any body would be persuaded to think, that here the argument must naturally conclude in favour of the Queen. It is not so, however. We are told, that although the letters now extant, cannot be said to be either the originals, or copies from the originals, yet they are translations from translations at the third hand. It is difficult to combat with so slippery an antagonist, who shifts his ground every minute, and when one thinks he has him fast, slips through one's fingers. Let us try, if possible, to hold fast this Proteus.

And, in the first place, let us examine the arguments brought by Dr. Robertson in support of this new, and till now, unheard-of hypothesis. That the printed French letters now before us, are neither the same, nor true copies of the original letters that were produced by Murray and Morton before Queen Elizabeth. And, secondly, we shall examine his proof, that other original French letters, besides the present, ever did exist.

The chief authority brought by Dr. Robertson in support of the first branch of his proposition, is from the preface to the French letters, in which the editor says, "That he translated these letters from the Latin."

I shall give the whole in the editor's own words. "These epistles, (says he), had been written by the Queen, part in French and part in the Scotch language*, and afterwards translated entirely into Latin; but as I had no knowledge of the Scotch, I chose rather to express the whole that I found in the Latin."

I have already said, that the title-page of this book bears, that it was printed at Edinburgh, the 13th of February, by Thomas Waltam.

I shall now prove by undoubted evidence, the whole of this French preface to consist in a chain of lies, and that it was contrived as a blind to conceal the true place, London, where the letters were printed; and for what purpose this false story was contrived.

And in the first place, that they were not printed at Edinburgh, is universally acknowledged, and that there never existed a printer at Edinburgh of the above name. This is owned by Dr. Robertson. Let us now

* The Queen never wrote in any but the French language.—EDITOR.

endeavour to strip this English impostor of the French disguise he has chosen to cloak himself under; for which purpose it is necessary to trace back the history of those French letters.

We have already seen, that, in the year 1571, Buchanan published his libel, called *Detectio Mariæ*, both in the Latin and Scotch languages; to which he subjoined, in the Latin language, a translation of the three first French letters, and all the eight letters in the Scotch language.

The very next year, 1572, about the time of the Duke of Norfolk's condemnation, and while a treaty was carrying on between Elizabeth and the King of France, it was thought proper to publish a translation into French of the Detection, with all the letters; which being said to be originally written by the Queen in French, were surely printed *verbatim* from the originals. To suppose otherwise, that these letters, printed and published along with the French translation of Buchanan's Detection, were translations done into French from the three letters published by Buchanan in Latin, appears to be quite absurd and incredible. For the original French letters, after being produced both in Scotland and England, in the years 1567, 1568, 1569, and 1571; the well-known care and industry shewn by Elizabeth and secretary Cecil, in promulgating every scandal against Queen Mary; and the using for that very purpose, every expedient to give credit to Buchanan's books, as shall be shewn, must have made copies of these identical French letters very common, and in every body's hands. It is therefore contrary to all human probability to suppose, that the translator of the Detection into French, published in London, or where you will, could not procure a copy of the French

letters themselves, to annex to his book: but was so hard put to it, that he even translated the letters himself into French from those in Latin published by Buchanan. Yet, improbable as this is, let us suppose it to be the case; still it will not answer. This publisher of the French Detection has averred, "That he had no knowledge of the Scotch language, and therefore chose to express all that he found in the Latin." But Buchanan translated only three of the letters into Latin; nor was it ever heard, that any more than the three first of the French letters were translated into Latin: and yet this impostor has the assurance to say, that he translated the whole seven French letters from the Latin. But to go on: in support of this glaring falsehood, he is necessarily obliged to tell another equally gross, viz. That these letters had been wholly translated into Latin. From all which it is evident, that the affected disguise and lies of this editor, were contrived solely to make us believe, that this book was not printed in London.

In the year 1571, negotiations between the English and French courts were on foot, touching the Duke of Anjou's proposal for marrying Queen Elizabeth. Mary had always a minister at the French court, soliciting her release from the hands of Elizabeth: and at this very period, her uncle the Duke of Guise, by obliging Colligni to raise the famous siege of Poictiers, was in the height of glory and power at that court. It therefore became necessary for Elizabeth to defeat those solicitations of Mary, by giving plausible reasons for detaining in prison that Princess; and above all, to expose her conduct to the Princes on the continent in the blackest colours. With regard to the English nation, Elizabeth had sufficiently accomplished the

above measure, by publishing several English editions of Buchanan's Detection.

The Duke of Norfolk having renewed his proposals of marriage to Queen Mary, and joined with her in soliciting the King of Spain to restore her to her own dominions, that whole affair was discovered. The Duke was brought to trial, and condemned for high treason, the 12th January, 1572. But as that nobleman was extremely beloved by all ranks in the kingdom, and had great connections abroad, it was thought proper to respite his execution till May thereafter; and, in the *interim*, to pave the way, by showing the expediency of it, from his connections with Mary, that dangerous rival! And likewise to expose that Queen, particularly to the Court of France, at a time when the treaty between Elizabeth and Charles was in agitation.

The instructions given by Elizabeth to her minister at the Court of France, are in these words: "It were not amiss to have divers of Buchanan's little Latin books to present, if need were, to the King, as from yourself, and to some of the other noblemen of his council; for they will serve to good effect to disgrace her."

For those purposes, the French translation of Buchanan's Detection, with the letters subjoined, seems to have been made. Had it been only calculated for the meridian of France, and to expose Queen Mary, no more was necessary to be printed than the French Detection only, with the original letters. But what plainly shows that this book was manifestly designed to serve another turn, in London, is the book itself. There is annexed to it a treatise, entitled, "Sommaire de Conspirations faites par la Royne d'Ecosse contre

la personne et l'etat de la Royne d'Angleterre." This treatise is no other than a libel against the Duke of Norfolk and Mary; and, by its date on the last leaf, appears to have been finished the 13th February, 1572, just a month after the Duke's condemnation.

It is true, however, that such part of the written evidence as served to blacken and defame that Princess, was taken care to be published at the time, and spread abroad against her. Such were certain letters said to have been written by her to the Earl of Bothwell. Upon the evidence of these, Mary has been generally condemned, and her name consigned to infamy. And, indeed, if we admit these writings to be genuine, her advocates will labour in vain to convince the world of her innocence.

These writings were, however, not only denied by the Queen to be hers, but positively asserted by her and her friends to have been forged by the Earls of Murray and Morton, her accusers, who produced them against her.

A late author, the learned Mr. Goodall, keeper of the Advocates' library at Edinburgh, was the first who attempted to bring a direct proof of the forgery of the letters. His examination of them, and the conclusion he has drawn from thence, is one of the most acute and ingenious pieces of criticism that is extant.

On the other hand, Dr. Robertson and Mr. Hume, have, in opposition to Mr. Goodall, endeavoured to support the authenticity of these letters.

When Mr. Goodall first gave his work to the public, the history and misfortunes of Queen Mary seemed to be forgotten. Her ill-fated marriage with the Earl of Bothwell, the person reputed to be the murderer of her former husband Lord Darnley, carried with it such

presumption of her guilt, as, without almost any other proof, convinced her enemies. The letters said to have been written and addressed by her to the Earl of Bothwell, seemed to be convincing proof against her, and put to silence the friends which remained to her. It had indeed been always asserted by the Queen and her friends, at the time that those letters were exhibited, that they were forged; but no direct proof of this appeared: for this good reason indeed, that the original letters produced by her rebel subjects before Queen Elizabeth, which Mary, with the utmost solicitude, desired to see, and to answer, were as anxiously kept up by Elizabeth from her, during her life. Thus the letters remained as evidence against the oppressed Queen down to the present time.

The interest and view of Queen Elizabeth, and likewise of the regent Murray, tended to the same point. To fix at least the shew of guilt upon Queen Mary, and to defame her to the world, would afford some pretext to the first for detaining Mary her prisoner; and to the last, for keeping possession of his usurped regency of her kingdom, under the protection of Queen Elizabeth, and as her dependent. It is not therefore to be doubted, that, to answer the above purposes, every piece of evidence that could be mustered up in so recent a matter, would be exhibited by the Regent and his associates, in support of their accusation, before an arbiter so favourably disposed to listen to them. The principal evidences produced by the Regent, were seven letters alleged to have been written by Queen Mary to the Earl of Bothwell, while her husband the Lord Darnley lived. These letters are now critically examined, and a proof of their being forged is established from the letters themselves. One

circumstance, which must add great weight in this matter, appears from the journals of the above congresses; to wit, a strong presumption that Queen Elizabeth was conscious of the letters being spurious, and was apprehensive of their being detected: for although Queen Mary disclaimed them, and loudly demanded inspection of these letters, declaring that she would bring full proof and conviction that they were false and forged; yet, contrary to every principle of justice and equity, this demand was refused by Elizabeth; and to her death these letters were never shewn to Queen Mary. Thus far it seemed necessary to premise, by way of introduction.—TYTLER.

We now come to proofs of sameness in the letters. These are not in their general nature, or in their general dates. These are in their particular dates, in the very circumstances of their narrations, and in the very terms of their language. I have previously noticed this with another view, when I did not observe the full extent of the notice. And I must beg leave to go over it again, in order to enlarge and point it properly for my present argument. "Jan. 27th (says the journal), the Quene (conforme to hir commission, as she wryttis) broucht the King from Glascow." The passage alluded to, is still in one of the letters, and runs thus: "According to my commissioun I bring the man with me, &c." It was originally in one of the ten, as the journal witnesses. It is now in one of the eight, as the fact shows. And the eight and the ten appear, in this instance at least, relating the same intentions in the same language. This would be sufficient of itself, I believe, for the inference which I mean to draw from the whole. I shall add others, however. "Jan. 23d,

(says the journal), "the Quene came to Glascow, and on the rode met hir Thomas Crawford from the Erle of Lennux, and Sir James Hamilton, with the rest, mentionit in hir letter." All these circumstances were as much in the first of the ten letters then, as they are in the first of the eight at present. But the journal goes on. "Jan. 24, (it adds) the Quene remaynit at Glascow, lyck as she did the 25th and the 26th; and hayd the conference with the King, whereof she wryttis." In the ten the Queen continued at Glasgow, just as long as she does in the eight: she being there, by the journal made for the ten, the 24th, 25th, and 26th of January: and she being also there, by the second of the eight, on Saturday, which was the 25th of January in that year; being there, by the first, upon the day before and evening preceding, or Friday the 24th and Thursday the 23d; and, by the second again, intending to leave it upon Monday the 27th. But, as the journal proceeds, "in this tyme," the 24th—26th, she "wrayt "hir bylle and uther letteris to Bothwell." She therefore appears from the journal, to have written such of her ten letters as were sent from Glasgow, on the 24th, 25th, and 26th of January. And she appears from the eight themselves, to have written also such of them as were equally sent from Glasgow, on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, the 24th—26th of that month. All this serves strongly, to prove the sameness of the letters. But the journal adds to the force of all, by referring to the same word, as her own appellation for the first of the ten, which is equally her own appellation for the first of the eight at present, bylle. And the Glasgow letters appear plainly to have been the same, in both these sets of epistles. Nor are the Stirling letters different. If one half is the same, the other, we may

be sure, is the same also. But the journal equally shows it. "April 21st, viz. Mounday, (it says) the Quene raid to Stirling, as it wes devysit; and from thence wreyt the letteris, concerning the purpose devysit of hir ravishing; quhair Huntly cam to hir, and began to repent him." The Stirling part of the ten spoke equally, as the Stirling part of the eight speaks now, of the journey to Stirling being previously agreed upon, betwixt Mary and Bothwell; of the design for seizing her, being settled betwixt them; of Huntly's coming to her there; and of his beginning to repent of the part, which he had undertaken for the enterprize. And they are obviously, therefore, the same.

So fully do the eight and the ten, the letters of the Scotch council and parliament, the letters of the rebel journal, the letters of the 7th of December, at Westminster, and the present letters, all assimilate together. They are equally from Stirling and from Glasgow. They are equally of the same general and particular dates, from both. They are of the same nature and substance. They relate the same facts, speak of the same agreements, and even use the same words. Yet there was a difference between them. I have marked it before. I now proceed to account for it. It was totally foreign to all these proofs of sameness. It no ways affects them, and it consisted in two letters more, which are not in the present set, but were in the former; and in some corrections that were made in the letters of both.

When Murray produced his false credentials at York, they were speedily returned to him. Yet, being privately exhibited to Elizabeth's commissioners, and therefore in no danger of being shewn to Mary's, they were left long enough in the hands of the former,

to be described, abstracted, and even copied in parts by them. But, when they were re-produced at Westminster, a different form of procedure was followed by Murray. They were publickly produced then. They were therefore returned immediately. We have a minute of the whole, in the journal of the commissioners; and it carries all the marks of the shuffling trepidation of a villain, fearful of being detected in his villainous operations. The letters, says the journal, "being copied, were read, and a due collation made thereof, as neere as could be, by reading and inspection; and made to accord with the originals, which the said Earl of Murray required to be re-delivered, and did thereupon deliver the copies, being collationed." He exhibited the originals. He exhibited also copies of them. He had taken care to bring copies with him, because he meant to leave copies only. He induced the board of commissioners to comply with his wishes. They proceeded instantly to collate his copies with his originals. This done, Murray demanded back his originals, received them, and then delivered up his copies. And thus the originals were just shewn and withdrawn.

This certainly has all the aspect of an hocus-pocus trick of dishonesty. It was certainly one in itself. It was indeed so much one, that we should be perfectly astonished at the ready submission of the commissioners to it, if we had not already seen them cowering with such vicious humility before, under the heavy hand of Elizabeth, and if we did recollect that this was the very trick which Murray, about five months before, expressly required Elizabeth to play by her commissioners. "Sen our servant Mr. Jhone Wode hes the copies of the samin letteris (he says), we wald ernest-

lie desyre;—that—the juges may resolve us this far, in cais the principal agrie with the copie, that then we pruif the caus indeed." This accounts for the whole. It shews the influence that drew them out of the course which they should otherwise have pursued, and made them move in such an irregular and eccentrick manner. In common justice to the accused Queen, to their own characters, and to their own feelings, they should have required the evidences on which the accusation was grounded, to be left in the possession of the court. They should then have examined them with the nicest care themselves. They should have collated them again and again with authenticated originals. Such a hasty collation of them as they made, with Murray's pretended originals, even if these had been real, could never have been satisfactory. A comparison of papers, in order to ascertain the genuineness or the spuriousness of a hand-writing, demands a long and painful attention. It is the slow work of hours and of days; and if it is to be done in company, like the business of a commission, it will necessarily proceed with a still slower pace. The commissioners of Mary should also have had free access to them, have been allowed to collate them day after day with their own originals, and been permitted to transcribe them from end to end. But the forgeries would not bear the inspection. They would soon have been detected by it. They could only bear to be shewn, to be collated with Murray's own standards, and then to be instantly withdrawn.

They were, a few days afterwards, exhibited again to the privy council. Who exhibited them, the journal does not tell us, or who received them back again. Murray was not present in the council; but he was

attending, no doubt, in one of the rooms adjoining. There, probably, he put them into the hand of Cecil, and received them back from him. They had now been collated with Elizabeth's own standards, which were equally authentick with Murray's, as she was equally with him in the conspiracy against Mary, and then withdrawn instantly again. We are certain that they were equally, as before, returned to Murray. And we actually find him afterwards in Scotland, retaining them in his own possession to the day of his death.

Mary was thus cut off from all possibility of inspecting the originals, and of exposing the spuriousness, by detecting the hand-writing of them. She was reduced to the situation of a warriour in an Indian ambuscade. She could be wounded at will by her foes. Yet she could not return the wounds. She could not see her enemy. And she might therefore, with the utmost propriety of sentiment, and with more than the original sublimity of courage, have said with Ajax in the Iliad,

Give me but light, and Ajax asks no more.

But then this very situation is an ample vindication in itself. Had she been guilty; had she, in the slightest degree, been accessary to the crime charged upon her; and had there been even a fair probability of proving her guilty of the charge, in spite of her innocence—her enemies would have acted in a very different manner. No ambuscade would they have laid for her. They would never have skulked behind the bushes, and wounded her with invisible shafts. They would have come forward into view, and engaged in open fight with her. They would have produced the originals, with pretended regret and with real triumph. They would have lodged them with the commissioners at

York, and the commissioners at Westminster. They would have compelled both, to collate them carefully with private and with publick, with foreign and with domestick writings of Mary's. Her commissioners would also have been called upon to inspect them, urged to compare them, challenged to disprove them. Mary herself would have been brought up from her confinement in the country, as she frequently requested to be; suffered to enjoy the freest access to them; allowed to make every objection to them; and heard with all the patience of candour, for days and for weeks, in her attempts to invalidate their authority. Such must have been the demeanour of Murray the producer, and of Elizabeth the receiver, of the letters, if they had thought her guilty, if they had thought her probably so, or if they had thought her so in appearance only. And a conduct totally the reverse of all this, proves what they never reflected it would prove, the falsehood of their own pretences, and the profligacy of their own conduct. Knaves little think, when they are exerting their arts of imposition, and exhausting their fund of deceit, for the prosecution and concealment of their scandalous purposes, that they are telling the world they are scandalous, by their very concealment.

Unapprehensive of such future obstructions to the sight of the letters, Mary, in her original directions to her commissioners, had ordered them thus: "In cais thay alledge they have ony writingis of mine, quhilk may infer presumptioun against me in that cause, ze sall desyre the principalis to be producit, and that I myself may have inspection—thereof, and mak answer thairto*." Ignorant equally of these precluding artifices

* It would appear that the wife of Lord Maitland, copied, and gave the letters to the Queen of Scots.—EDITOR.

afterwards, the commissioners accordingly demanded the sight of the originals now. These were exhibited to the commissioners at Westminster on the 8th of December, and to the privy council on the 14th; and on the 25th, Mary's commissioners appeared before the latter, with a "special command fra their maistres;" delivered her message; "producit the special writingis and instructionis, sent be thair maistres to thame;" and then "maist humblie desyrit the Quene's Majestie to cause thàm have sic writingis as wer producit aganis thair maistres be thair maistres's adversaris." Those instructions of Mary's are still in being. They are dated the 19th of December, and run thus: "Ze sall desire the inspection of all, thay haif producit aganis us, and that we may sè the alledgit principal writingis, gif they haif ony, producit; and, with God's grace, we sall make sic answer thairto, that our innocence sall be knawin to our guid sister, and to all utheris princes." So little was Mary made acquainted, even with the fact of the production of the letters on the 8th, and so studiously was even this concealed from the commissioners of Mary, that she was not yet certified of it on the 19th! She had only heard of it by report. But she instantly required an inspection of the letters, if any such had been produced, and expressed her full conviction of ascertaining her innocence completely, to the satisfaction of Elizabeth and all the sovereigns on the Continent. This was the natural challenge of innocence in Mary. But her "guid sister" wanted not to have her "innocence knawin." She rather chose to consider her as guilty, and to have "all utheris princes" do so too. Yet she could not object to the request, though she never meant to grant it. This "desire (say Mary's commissioners) hir Majestie [of

England] thocht verie ressonabill." She could not do less. But did she grant it? The reader shall see.

If Elizabeth had had one spark of honour yet unquenched in her breast, she would instantly have given the requisite orders. But she did not give them. She said she would consider of the petition. "To the effect hir Majestie micht be the better advisit upon thair desyris, and give answer thairto," she; "desyrit ane extract of the said writing," their instructions, "to be gevin to hir Hienes: quhilk the said commissionaris did on the morn deliver." She would consider, whether she should give to Mary the only possibility of exposing the spuriousness of a hand-writing, which was to support a charge of murder against her, by permitting her, or by permitting her commissioners, to inspect the writing. She pretended she wanted time to consider, because even she had not the audacity to deny. She had the audacity, however, to withhold; and it is plain from her conduct, that the whole compounded mass of flagitiousness, must instantly have been resolved into dust, if she had granted the requisition. She therefore pretended still to consider.

But Mary was too keen and too interested, to be so put off. On the 7th of January following, the commissioners of Mary again entered the privy council, and declared to Elizabeth, that "thay had presentlie ressavit writingis, fra the Quene's Majestie of Scotland, thair Soverane," who "desirit the writingis producit be hir inobedient subjectis—to be delivered unto thame." But Elizabeth was still obliged to withhold her consent, and still compelled therefore to procrastinate. She accordingly took shelter again, behind her old subterfuge of consideration. "The Quene's Majestie of England tuik to be advysit thairwith."

Mary, in her first requisition, desired not only to see the originals, but to have copies of them. She demanded "the inspection and doubillis," of all that her rebels had produced against her. She wanted a sight of them, to examine the nature of the hand-writing. She wanted duplicates, to examine the matters contained in them. But when she received an account of Elizabeth's affected delay, to such an obvious act of justice; she saw through her whole design. She was fully convinced in her mind, that the originals would never be submitted to her view, or the view of her commissioners. Yet she was eager to enter upon her vindication. She resolved to engage her enemies immediately. And she was determined to close with them, even under every disadvantage of ground. Such was the natural gallantry of innocence! Her commissioners, therefore, lowered their tone a little in their second requisition. They still demanded a sight of the originals. But they would be content, to be indulged with copies only. They accordingly, in the name of their mistress, "desirit the writingis producit be her inobedient subjectis, or, at the leist, the copies thairof, to be deliverit unto thame." And Mary's instructions to them for this requisition, were even in a still lower key; being only to "require of our said guid sister, that copies be given zou thairof." This was certainly not judicious, because it committed her honbur to the hazard of a battle, in which she might not have been victorious. Yet it was the genuine heroism of an honest heart. And, as is frequently seen in life, the injudiciousness constitutes the heroicalness of it.

But this very gallantry of innocence, and this very heroism of honesty, made Elizabeth to shrink the more

from a conflict. She retired as Mary advanced. She entrenched herself behind her delays. She dared not to engage an enemy for her bravery, whom she might have defeated perhaps from her rashness. She dreaded the dignity of provoked worth, now it was rising in its own defence. She was afraid of the lion, that she had basely wounded under the mask of friendship, even caught as it was in her toils; when it now began to raise its voice of terrour, against her.

At the last requisition, however, Elizabeth promised to give an answer "within two or three dayis." But her prime-minister Cecil, that boasted statesman of our isle, and that ever-ready tool of tyranny to his mistress, had previously gone to work in digesting a proposal, which should divert Mary a while from her requisition. He had planned it for Elizabeth, the very day the requisition was made. And Elizabeth accordingly proposed it to Mary's commissioners, as soon as they had delivered their requisition. It was, that Mary should resign the crown which had been taken from her; that her infant son, who had been made to usurp it, should retain it still; and that she should continue in England with the title and appointments of a Queen. Had Mary been guilty, she would have been glad to escape from prison and from prosecution so easily. But then Elizabeth would never have made the proposal. And the majesty of conscious honour in Mary, scorned to stoop to such a palliative, for a cure of her misfortunes. By an act like this, she would have sanctioned all the calumnies that had been thrown upon her in Scotland; and have established all the charges that had been brought against her in England. Her commissioners, therefore, spoke out instantly upon the overture from Elizabeth; that "scho wald never condiscend to dimit

her crown, and had given him, (the Bishop of Ross), special command to declare the samin, in cais it were proponit to him." Yet Elizabeth was too much bent upon her purpose, to take this prompt reply. She "did earnestly press him," that he and the other commissioners of Mary should write to her on the subject. But this "thay all whollie and absolutely refusit." Such was the powerful conviction of their Queen's innocence and honour, that reigned in the bosoms of these worthy representatives of hers! Elizabeth, however, was too resolute upon the point, to be even so beat off. She wanted chiefly to procrastinate, and greatly wanted to do so. She wished to bury the old requisition for a sight of the originals, under a new proposal. She therefore "desirit thame to ressoun and confer, with sum noblemen of hir Hienes's counsel, whom her Majestie wald appoint, upon that and uther thingis quhilk sould be proponit; and to give thame thair determinat answer thairto."

This was a proposal, to which they could not with any propriety refuse to accede. Elizabeth therefore obtained her desire, of delaying and diverting. The commissioners met some of her privy counsellors, two days afterwards. Then there appeared not to be any "uther thingis, quhilk sould be proponit," and to which they were to give "thair determinat answer." There was nothing new proposed, on the part of Elizabeth. There was therefore nothing but the old answer to be given, on the part of Mary. Her commissioners had only to repeat, as they did repeat in all the firm tone of an innocence, which could neither be frightened nor cajoled; "That the Quene, thair maistres, wald never consent to dimit hir crown, in ony way, nor upon ony conditiounis, quhilk wer or could be proponit." And

Mary herself, having been informed of some overtures of the like nature before, had replied with a grandeur of soul, that must for ever set her high in the opinion of the discerning: "As to resigning my crown (she says), I beg you to trouble me no more about it; for I am resolved and determined, rather to die than to do it; and the last word which I shall utter in my life, shall be that of a Queen of Scotland." The force of Mary's intellect, and the vigour of Mary's honour, break out here like a flash of lightning, to awe and confound her adversaries. This answer was never seen by Elizabeth. But it was felt, in the answer of her commissioners at first, and in their reply at present; both of them animated with a beam of Mary's fire. The counsellors of Elizabeth promised to repeat their reply. And all thoughts of an inspection of the originals, were laid aside for the time.

But they would be immediately revived. Murray was still in London. The originals were there with him. Mary's commissioners had twice called for a sight of them. They had been hitherto put off, under the poor pretence of considering, what nothing but knavery could have wished to consider at all. They could not be put off any longer. The insidious overture, that was to divert them from the point, and make her a volunteer in fixing her own infamy, had been instantly thrown back in the face of the proposers, with all the contempt it merited. And Elizabeth had promised an answer to Mary's second requisition, in two or three days. To shew the originals, it is plain, would have been death to all her hopes. They had been fabricated, no doubt, with great art. The fabricators had been long in the habit of copying the hand-writing of Mary. They could even imitate it so exactly, that,

as one of Mary's commissioners tells us, in her name they had sent many letters to Elizabeth formerly, which it was difficult to distinguish from her own. They "wald not be kend," he says, from them. They would not by any common eye be distinguished. But they could be, by those who were intimately acquainted with her writing. It is impossible perhaps to counterfeit any hand so precisely, as that it shall not be discerned by an attentive and painful collation. These letters had certainly not been framed so artfully, Mary could easily have pointed out a variety of strokes, in the turn and mould of the characters, which discriminated this writing from her own. Even her commissioners could have done it, likewise. And therefore, neither of them were permitted to see the originals. Yet Elizabeth was in great distress about them, at this instant. She could not refuse an inspection any longer. She could not, however, permit it. In this dilemma, how shall she act? Her cunning failed her at this pressing moment. She could find no further subterfuge of delay. She was therefore obliged, to have recourse to her effrontery and her power. She sent the originals away. The very next day after the conference above, she made Murray to appear before the privy council, petitioning for leave to go back into Scotland. She granted it. He set off. The originals went with him. And now an inspection could neither be asked by Mary, nor needed to be refused by Elizabeth.

This was such a bare-faced act of evasion, such an open stretch of dishonesty, and such an impudent defiance of justice, as must have struck every honest man in the kingdom, who knew it, with amazement and with horrour. On the 10th of January, Murray received permission to depart. But he had been hastily called

upon by Elizabeth, to petition for the permission. He was not prepared for his journey. He therefore appeared at court again on the 12th, in order to take a formal leave of the Queen. Yet he still remained in London. He remained there, for no less than twelve days afterward. He had several things to transact. He had particularly money to borrow from Elizabeth, in order to discharge his debts in London, and to defray his expences homeward. So suddenly had he been called upon by her, to take his journey for Scotland; and so unprepared was he for it, at her call! Elizabeth saw it requisite for him, and for her, that he and his criminating letters should disappear at once. He therefore did disappear. He was now supposed to be gone for Scotland, with the originals packed up in his cloak-bag. All access to them was barred up effectually, by the supposition. All would be barred up in fact, by his departure in a few days. An inspection of the originals, therefore, was totally out of the question at present.

But Mary's commissioners, in their second requisition, had desired the originals, or at least the copies of them, to be delivered. Mary also, in her instructions, had condescended to ask for only copies of them. These instructions had been even shewn to Elizabeth. And, in these circumstances, what will Elizabeth do? She has boldly denied all access to the originals. But she will certainly grant copies. No forgery of hand-writing can be detected from them. The grand danger of exposure, therefore, is removed. And she will readily catch at the opportunity, of colouring over the high enormity of her conduct with respect to the originals, by a cheerful allowance of copies.—But the policy of Elizabeth was too cautious, even for this indulgence.

Her policy was as deep as her villainy. She would not furnish Mary, and she would not furnish her commissioners, even with copies. She begged to consider of this requisition also.

This may seem to my reader an unaccountable hardship, at first view, an injury without a provocation, a refusal without a reason, and a mere act of wanton cruelty. Cruelty it certainly was. But it was not wantonness. Let us vindicate Elizabeth, where we can. Even to grant copies, was dangerous. To withhold them, was necessary. And the whole system of Elizabethan politicks, might have been thrown wildly out of its orbit by the concession.

Mary's first wish, as I have formerly observed, was very properly to inspect the originals, that she might expose the spuriousness of the hand-writing. Her next was to have copies, that she might mark the dates, observe the circumstances, and prove the forgery of the letters from both. By this mode of examination, Elizabeth was afraid that Mary would have proved her point. She probably would. Her natural readiness of apprehension, would have been improved by her interest in the cause. Her natural clearness of conception, would have been heightened by her conviction of the villainy. Her memory, and her papers, would have supplied her abundantly with circumstances and dates. And the whole of that visionary fabrick, must in all probability have sunk away before her, as she advanced. So ill-contrived were these boasted evidences of guilt, that they could not bear to be examined, even through the medium of a copy! At least Elizabeth, who knew them well, thought them so. She therefore resolved to refuse Mary even a copy of them. Yet she could not refuse it in terms. She

had already herself pronounced the demand for "inspection and doubles," to be "very reasonable." But she had evaded the one before, and she equally evaded the other now.

On the 13th of January, when Murray and the originals were still in London, but the very day after he and they had formally taken their leave, she prepared to give the answer, which she had so long withheld. She had now been twenty days, since the first requisition. She had now been six since the second, though she then promised an answer in two or three. She had taken ample time, for advising herself upon the important business. The first requisition was for a sight of the originals. The second was for that, or, at the least, the copies of them. But the originals had hastily withdrawn themselves from court the day before. They were now to be supposed on their way to Scotland. Elizabeth therefore resolved to give no answer concerning them. Yet she noticed the requisition for them. But she answered only to the requisition for copies: and these were still to be withheld.

Yet even "the lion-port and awe-commanding face," which Mr. Gray has given to Elizabeth; or, to speak in a truer and soberer style, the sternness of majestick confidence in her; could not stand the brunt of refusing such a request, under any pretence. She delegated the daring work to her unblushing Cecil. And he spoke to Mary's commissioners, in the name of his mistress then absent, and as the voice of her privy council then present, in this remarkable manner. He first recapitulated their request. This was, he said, "to have the copies of all articlis, presumptiounis, with the principal writingis producit." He then replied, as immediately from Elizabeth, "that scho will not refuis

unto the Quene, hir guid sister, to give the dowbillis of all that was producit." She slides off very artfully, we see, from the primary part of the requisition, as stated by Cecil himself, and rests only on the secondary. For this also she had fresh delays. She would grant it; but she must previously have a promise. She will have a promise under Mary's hand, and with Mary's signature to it too, in order to authenticate it more thoroughly. Yet what is this promise to be? It is to be no less, than that Mary should do—what?—that she should do what she was most earnest and importunate to do; what she was at this very moment pressing Elizabeth to enable her to do, by a sight of the papers; that she would answer to the charges in them. "Scho will have a special writing sent be the Quene of Scottis, her guid sister, signet with her awin hand; promising that scho will answer to the samin writings and things laid to her charge, but [without] ony exception."

The commissioners of Mary, astonished at such a delay at the close of all the others, remonstrated with her representative upon the poorness and pettiness of it; as she had already received such a promise in such a form, no less than twice. "The samin appears not to be necessarie (they replied) in respect of twa several writingis schawin and read in presence of hir Majestie and hir counsal, subscrivit with hir [Mary's] awin hand and under hir signet; quhairof the extract was deliverit to the Quene's Majestie of England, in the quhilk scho offerit to mak answer upon certane conditiounis thairin expremit, swa being scho may have the writingis, or at leist the copies of thame." Elizabeth, or her Cecil, did not pretend to assert the insufficiency of these promises in themselves. Why then should

they be repeated? Elizabeth had already seen them, not only subscribed by Mary's own hand, but also certified by Mary's own seal. Why then should she ask for another, that was to be only subscribed? For this reason.

She pretended to believe at present, that the original commission from Mary to these her commissioners, was terminated by an act of theirs some time before. "The Quene's Majestie (says Cecil) desyris to have sic a writing of the Quene's Majesty zour maistres, because scho understandis that zour commissioun quhilk ze had is expyrit, sen ze did discharge the conference at Westminster." This was done by them on the 6th of December before. But this was two days previous to the production of the letters; and Elizabeth had been acting with them under that very commission, repeatedly since. This we have sufficiently seen before, in their two demands for a sight of the originals, or for copies of them; in their shewing their special instructions to her; in their delivering her an extract from them; and in her promise of an answer to both. So paltry, even from Elizabeth's own principles and practices, does this evasion of Elizabeth's appear.

But she had also another. Let us attend to it. Perhaps it may be a more dignified reason. It may at least carry more the semblance of a reason.

She equally pretended to think, that, by their last instructions from Mary, they were only authorized to call for the papers, but not to answer them. She desired to have such a writing, says Cecil, "because scho understandis that be zour last writingis ze ressavit, [ze] have powar to require the copies of the writingis, bot not to mak answer." But what were the last instructions sent them by Mary? They were these;

"Ze sall require our said guid sister, that copies be gevin zou thairof, to the effect, that thay may be answerit particularlie." These very instructions, and in these very terms too, were delivered by the commissioners to Elizabeth on the 8th of January, only five days before. And on the 7th of January they declared to her, "That they had presentlie ressavit writingis fra the Quene's Majestie of Scotland, thair Soverane; be the quhilkis they were of new commandit to signifie unto hir Majestie, that scho would answer to the calumnious accusation of hir subjectis,—and thairfoir desirit the writingis producit,—or, at the leist, the copies thairof, to be deliverit unto thame, that thair maistres might fully answer thairto." Yet Elizabeth now pretends to believe, and presumes by the mouth of Cecil to say, that, "by their last writings received," they "had power to require the copies of the writings, but not to make answer." She therefore wanted to have a promise of answering from Mary. But they were instructed by Mary to call for the papers, under an express promise of replying to them. They were instructed by her to call for them, that she might reply to them. And she and they in the solemnest manner promised, that she would make, and they would present, a full and particular reply. So much more paltry, if possible, is this reason than the other!

Elizabeth, indeed, must have been now reduced to the greatest difficulties. She would otherwise not have rested delays, so necessary to her purposes, upon props so rotten as these. They serve therefore to point out to us, in the strongest manner, that extremity of distress in which she was labouring and struggling at this moment. They serve to give an uniformity of meanness, and a consistency of falsehood, to all her actions.

And at the close of them let me hope, for the credit of that best part of Elizabeth, her head, that these were the paltriest elusions which this elusive princess ever made use of, in all the doublings of her crooked policy.

But to complete the parts of this enormous whole; for even these can receive an addition in order to their completeness; I must add one thing more. It is this. Not content to mangle the fine person of Mary with the murderous axe, Elizabeth even proceeded to a still greater excess of guilt. She exerted all the arts of hell, to mangle her reputation also.

She had totally prevented Mary from making any reply to the letters produced against her; by refusing her all sight of them at one time, and by closing abruptly the whole inquisition at another. Yet she herself had been compelled, at a particular moment, to pronounce the eulogium of her innocence. She acquitted her from every shade of dishonour, that had been so violently attempted to be thrown over the lustre of her character by the letters. And, in less than three years afterwards, she published those very letters, in order to eclipse her character for ever. She published them, as proofs of adultery, and as proofs of murder against her. She published them, as proofs substantiated at the time. And, with the malignant industry of the arch-fiend himself, she circulated them over the island and over the continent.

This is such a crowning addition to all the flagitiousness of Elizabeth before, and gives her such a horrible pre-eminence in guilt; that justice ought not to believe it even of her, without a large share of evidence for it. This therefore shall be given. And it shall be fully given.

The original letters were now gone back, to their native north. But copies of them were still in London. They were only with Elizabeth, however. They had indeed been delivered to her commissioners. Yet in such a government as Elizabeth's, where the genius of the Queen, and the habits of the people, threw a controling awe over all the departments of the state; they were properly still in the custody of Elizabeth. And in a few days after that delivery, as I have already shown, the very existence of the commissioners ceased, and all their papers would be then removed into Cecil's office. The letters were even delivered at first into, and ever afterwards continued in the hands of Cecil himself, as at once a commissioner and the secretary. "The copies of all quhilk letteris," says Murray in some instructions written about nine months afterwards, being "conferrit, red, and considerit, wer deliverit to Mr. Secretary, in quhais handis thay remane." So completely were they, from their first production before the commissioners, in the possession of Elizabeth, and under the care of Cecil. But, from that possession and that care, they eloped to the press. She therefore ordered, and he executed, the publication of them.

Accordingly, Cecil himself appears particularly active in dispersing them, and in dispersing them even among the French, immediately after their publication here. In a letter of his to Walsingham, our embassadour in France, which is dated the 1st of November, 1571, he says thus to him: "Having this present occasion to send two of my Lord of Oxford's men to Paris, at his lordship's request; I thought good also therewith to send to you, this little treatise newly printed in Latin," Buchanan's Detection, in which were inserted

some of the principal letters, in commending or discommending the Queen of Scots actions to further her marriage with Bothwell. I hear it is to be translated into English, with addition of many other supplements of like condition." For what purpose a copy of this new publication was sent by Cecil, is obvious enough of itself. But this is opened at large in another paper, which was equally sent in the same year to Elizabeth's representative at Paris, and which contains some special instructions to him from Elizabeth, with regard to Mary. To many arguments which he was to use to the King of France, in order to dissuade him from taking part with the imprisoned Mary; it is added thus: "and here were it not amiss to have divers of Buchanan's little Latin books, to present, if need be, to the King as from yourself, and likewise to some of the other noblemen of his council; for they will serve to good effect to disgrace her; which must be done, before other purposes can be attained." This letter, which, like a record of the last day, discloses the whole heart and soul of Elizabeth in the business, appears plainly from the tenour of it, to have been written after the other. The other speaks of the publication as recent. This passes over the circumstance as not recent and well known. They evidently stand in a very near relation to each other. And this reflects a strong light back upon that. This also receives a light reflected back from a letter immediately subsequent, and so appears to have been written, like that, in the month of November, and while there was only a Latin edition of Buchanan's book yet published.

But says Cecil in his former letter, for he was, no doubt, the author of both, though he does not appear to be so: "I hear it is to be translated into English,

with addition of many other supplements of like condition." It was accordingly published in English, within three or four weeks afterwards. And some of the "supplements of like condition," were the rest of the letters. These therefore must have been, equally with the other letters, all published by Elizabeth and Cecil. He, we see, knew of the intention and plan, before it was executed. It was executed immediately, and in that very month, of November. We have a letter written at Leith in Scotland, on the 14th of December in that year; which speaks of the work, as having been then published in England. "Thay have set out in Ingland (says the author), and newlie set out (he adds in another place), our Quene's lyfe and process, baith in Latin and Inglish; quhair-in is contenit the discourse of hir tragical doingis, the process of the Erle of Bothwell's clenging," cleansing or acquittal; "hir sonnettis and letteris to him; the depositiounis of the persounis execute, and cartellis efter the King's murther. In appearance, thay leive nathing unset out, tending to hir infamie, and to mak the Duke of Northfolk odious, quha has a grait benevolence of the people." To the Latin edition of the Detection, were subjoined only the three first letters. To the English, were annexed these three letters; before them, the second contract of marriage, the trial and acquittal of Bothwell for the murder, and the sonnets in French and Scotch; and after them the five other letters, the tickets stuck up on Bothwell's acquittal, the confessions of Hepburn, Hay, Dalgleishe, and Powry, and some concluding exclamations against Mary. But that stroke concerning the Duke of Norfolk, shows us still more plainly, whence the English publication was derived. He had been convinced of

the scandalous measures into which he had been trepanned against Mary. He wished to make her some reparation. He wished to deliver her from the cursed bonds, and still more cursed machinations, of that Machiavell in a ruff and farthingale, Elizabeth. But he was over-reached by men, who, to his honour be it spoken, were more versed than himself in the wiles of policy. And he lay at this moment under sentence of death, for his conduct. To turn away the affection of the people from this popular noble, by loading the name of Mary with various enormities, and by involving him in all the imputed infamy of Mary; appears to have been the design of the publication.

For that reason, Cecil prefixed to it an inflammatory address against her, and added to it an inflammatory comparison betwixt her and Elizabeth. The former says, that in this "booke are both parties to be heard; the one [Mary] in the former part, both in the declaration and oration of evidences;" these names being here, from their double nature, applied to the two parts of Buchanan's Detection, when in reality they belong only to the second part of it, which is entitled, "Ane Oratioun with Declaratioun of Evidences;" "the other in the latter part, in the parties own contractes, songes, letteres," &c. "The booke itself (it adds), with the oration of evidence, is written in Latin by a learned man of Scotland, Mr. George Buchanan. It was also overseen, and allowed, and exhibited by them," the Lords of the privie council of Scotland, "as mater that thay have offered, and do continue in offeryng, to stand to and justifie, before our Soveraigne Ladie, or hir Highnesses commissioners in that behalfe appointed. And what profe thay have made of it already, when thay were here for that

purpose, and the sayd authour of the sayd booke one among them; when both parties, or their sufficient procurators, were here present indifferentlie to be heard, and so were heard indeede: all good subjects may easely gather, be our said Soveraigne Ladye's procedyng sins the said hearyng of the cause, who no dout would never have so stayed her," Mary's "request, but rather would have added enforcement, by ministring of ayde to the Lady Mary of Scotland, for her restitution." So shamelessly confident were Elizabeth and Cecil, in asserting both parties to have been heard in the inquisition, and both to have been heard impartially, and in resting finally the proof of convicted guilt in Mary, on the very perfidiousness of Elizabeth to her.

But both the address and the comparison went on, in a higher unison of malignity, to do that "which was to be done, before other purposes could be attained." The address therefore says, that "of late hathe bene published—a treatise, detecting the foule doyinges of some," Mary, "that have bene daungerous to our noble Quene; by which detection is induced a very excellent comparison, for all Englishmen to judge whether it be good to chaunge Quenes or no; and therewith a necessary enforcement to every honest man to pray heartely for the long continuance of our good mother to rule over us, that our posteritie may not see her place left empty for a perilous stepdame." But the comparison spoke out in much stronger terms than these. It spoke thus: "Now judge, Englishmen, gif it be gude to change Quenes, O uniting, confounding! When rude Scotland has vomited a poysoune, must fyne England lick it up for a restorative? O vyle indignitie! Whiles your Quene's enemy liveth, hir

danger contineweth. Desperat necessitie will dar the uttermost. O ambitione! fed with prosperitie, nourished with indulgence, irritate with adversitie, not to be neglected, trusted, nor pardonit." So outrageously abusive were Elizabeth and Cecil. But Elizabeth was busy in completing her own infamy, while she was labouring for Mary's. She had plotted to ruin Mary's character: she had tried a thousand frauds for that purpose. Yet she had been compelled, in her own despite, to acknowledge the innocence which she had endeavoured to disprove. And then she returned with a double portion of malignity to her original purpose; published the papers as genuine, which she had plainly owned to be spurious before; and arraigned, tried, and condemned that Queen in print, whom she had found herself forced to acquit with honour upon the real trial. She thus became the polluted mother of a long brood of evils. She prepared the way with too fatal a success for her "other purposes." She became her own seducer and leader into murder. She became the wretched cause of worse. With an equally fatal success, she buried the reputation and honour of Mary under the rubbish of her own accusations. And she now stands forward in the eye of reason and religion, as the grand author of all the calumnies upon calumnies, that have been heaped, by a continual succession of slanderers, on the head of Mary for two centuries past.

She did not indeed foresee the amazing extent of her crimes at the time; nor do any criminals foresee the extent of theirs. Like Elizabeth, they look not beyond the present moment; they reflect not, that there is a venom in iniquity, which runs farther than the line of human life; which corrodes and festers,

when the heart that dictated, and the hand that executed it, are both crumbled into dust, and which continues to burn on to other ages and to other worlds. And let me in the proper sentiments of Christianity add, that the soul of Elizabeth at this instant, whether it is confined in the mansions of misery, or lodged among the spirits of the blessed, is looking back, I doubt not, to all her long transactions with Mary, and their longer consequences—either with a solemn sigh of penitence over them, or with the pangs and groans of an overwhelming remorse for them.—WHITAKER.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Duke of Norfolk, a new Lover of Mary—Conceals his Love from Elizabeth—Gains the Consent of the English Nobles sub rosa—*Discovered and defeated by Elizabeth—More Plots against the English Queen, who resolves to give up Mary to her Enemies in Scotland—Another Plot—Marriage proposed to Elizabeth by Catherine de Medicis, in favour of her Son the Duke of Anjou—Elizabeth declares open Hostility to Mary's Party—League between England and France.*

SOON after, Lord Boyd returned into Scotland, and brought letters to the Regent, both from the English and Scottish Queens. A convention was held at Perth, in order to consider them. Elizabeth's letter contained three different proposals with regard to Mary; that she should either be restored to the full possession of her former authority; or be admitted to reign jointly with the King her son; or at least be

allowed to reside in Scotland, in some decent retirement, without any share in the administration of government. These overtures were extorted by the importunity of Fenelon, the French ambassador, and have some appearance of being favourable to the captive Queen. They were, however, perfectly suitable to Elizabeth's general system, with regard to Scottish affairs. Among propositions so unequal and disproportionate, she easily saw where the choice would fall. The two former were rejected; and long delays must necessarily have intervened, and many difficulties have arisen, before every circumstance relative to the last could be finally adjusted.

Mary, in her letter, demanded, that her marriage with Bothwell should be reviewed by the proper judges, and, if found invalid, should be dissolved by a legal sentence of divorce. This fatal marriage was the principal source of all the calamities she had endured for two years; a divorce was the only thing which could repair the injuries her reputation had suffered by that step. It was her interest to have proposed it early; and it is not easy to account for her long silence with respect to this point. Her particular motive for proposing it at this time, began to be so well known, that the demand was rejected by the convention of estates. They imputed it not so much to any abhorrence of Bothwell, as to her eagerness to conclude a marriage with the Duke of Norfolk.

This marriage was the object of that secret negotiation in England, which we have already mentioned; but, like all those concerted for the relief of the Queen of Scots, it ended tragically. The fertile and projecting genius of Maitland first conceived this scheme. During the conference at York, he communicated it to

the Duke himself, and to the Bishop of Ross. The former readily closed with a scheme, so flattering to his ambition. The latter considered it as a probable device for restoring his mistress to liberty, and replacing her on her throne. Nor was Mary, with whom Norfolk held a correspondence, by means of his sister Lady Scroop, averse to a measure, which would have restored her to her kingdom, with so much splendor. The sudden removal of the conference from York to Westminster suspended, but did not break off this intrigue. Maitland and Ross were still the Duke's prompters, and his agents; and many letters and love tokens were exchanged between him and the Queen of Scots.

But as he could not hope, that under an administration so vigilant as Elizabeth's, such an intrigue could be kept long concealed, he attempted to deceive her by the appearance of openness and candor, an artifice which seldom fails of success. He mentioned to her the rumour, which was spread of his marriage with the Scottish Queen; he complained of it as a groundless calumny; and disclaimed all thoughts of that kind, with many expressions full of contempt, both for Mary's character and dominions. Jealous as Elizabeth was of every thing relative to the Queen of Scots, she seems to have credited these professions. But, instead of discontinuing the negotiation, he renewed it with greater vigour, and admitted into it new associates. Among these was the Regent of Scotland. He had given great offence to Norfolk, by his public accusation of the Queen, in breach of the concert into which he had entered at York. He was then ready to return into Scotland. The influence of the Duke, in the north of England, was great. The Earls of Northumberland

and Westmorland, the most powerful noblemen in that part of the kingdom, threatened to revenge upon the Regent, the injuries which he had done his sovereign. In order to secure his safe retreat, he addressed himself to Norfolk, and, after some apology for his past conduct, he insinuated that the Duke's scheme of marrying the Queen his sister, was no less acceptable to him, than beneficial to both kingdoms; and that he would concur, with the utmost ardour, in promoting so desirable an event. Norfolk heard him with the credulity, natural to those, who are passionately bent upon any design. He wrote to the two Earls to desist from any hostile attempt against Murray, and to that he owed his passage through the northern counties, without disturbance.

Encouraged by his success in gaining the Regent, he next attempted to draw the English nobles to approve his design. The nation began to despair of Elizabeth's marrying. Her jealousy kept the question with regard to the right of succession undecided. The memory of the civil wars, which had desolated England for more than a century, on account of the disputed titles of the Houses of York and Lancaster, was still recent. Almost the whole ancient nobility had perished, and the nation itself had been brought to the brink of destruction, in that unhappy contest. The Scottish Queen, though her right of succession was generally held to be undoubted, might meet with formidable competitors. She might marry a foreign and a popish prince, and bring both liberty and religion into danger. But, by marrying her to an Englishman, a zealous Protestant, the most powerful and most universally beloved of all the nobles, an effectual remedy seemed to be provided against all these evils. The

greater part of the peers, either directly, or tacitly, approved of it, as a salutary project. The Earls of Arundel, Pembroke, Leicester, and Lord Lumley, subscribed a letter to the Scottish Queen, written with Leicester's hand, in which they warmly recommended the match; but insisted, by way of preliminary, on Mary's promise, that she should attempt nothing, in consequence of her pretensions to the English Crown, prejudicial to Elizabeth, or to her posterity; that she should consent to a league offensive and defensive between the two kingdoms; that she should confirm the present establishment of religion in Scotland; and receive into favour such of her subjects as had appeared in arms against her. Upon her agreeing to the marriage, and ratifying these articles, they engaged that the English nobles would not only concur in restoring her, immediately, to her own throne, but in securing to her that of England, in reversion. Mary readily consented to all these proposals, except the second, with regard to which, she demanded some time for consulting her ancient ally, the French King.

The whole of this negotiation was industriously concealed from Elizabeth. Her jealousy of the Scottish Queen was well known, nor could it be expected, that she would willingly come into a measure, which tended so visibly to save the reputation, and to increase the power of her rival. But, in a matter of so much consequence to the nation, the taking a few steps without her knowledge, could scarce be reckoned criminal; and while every person concerned, even Mary and Norfolk themselves, declared that nothing should be concluded without obtaining her consent, the duty and allegiance of subjects seemed to be fully preserved. The greater part of the nobles regarded the matter in this light.

Those who conducted the intrigue, had farther and more dangerous views. They saw the advantages which Mary procured by this treaty, to be present and certain; and the execution of the promises which she came under, to be distant and uncertain. They had early communicated their scheme to the Kings of France and Spain, and obtained their approbation. A treaty, concerning which they consulted foreign princes, while they concealed it from their own sovereign, could not be deemed innocent. They hoped, however, that the union of so many nobles would render it necessary for Elizabeth to comply; they flattered themselves, that a combination so strong would be altogether irresistible; and such was their confidence of success, that when a plan was concerted, in the north of England, for rescuing Mary out of the hands of her keepers, Norfolk, who was afraid that if she recovered liberty, her sentiments in his favour might change, used all his interest to dissuade the conspirators from attempting it.

In this situation did the affair remain, when Lord Boyd arrived from England; and, besides the letters which he produced publickly, brought others in cyphers, from Norfolk and Throgmorton, to the Regent, and to Maitland. These were full of the most sanguine hopes. The whole nobles of England concurred, said they, in favouring the design. Every preliminary was adjusted; nor was it possible that a scheme so deep laid, conducted with so much art, and supported both by power and by numbers, could miscarry, or be defeated in the execution. Nothing now was wanting, but the concluding ceremony. It depended on the Regent to hasten that, by procuring a sentence of divorce, which would remove the only obstacle that stood in the way.

This was expected of him, in consequence of his promise to Norfolk; and if he regarded either his interest or his fame, or even his safety, he would not fail to fulfil these engagements.

But the Regent was now in very different circumstances, from those which had formerly induced him to affect an approbation of Norfolk's schemes. He saw that the downfal of his own power must be the first consequence of the Duke's success. And if the Queen, who considered him as the chief author of all her misfortunes, should recover her ancient authority, he could never expect favour, nor scarce hope for impunity. No wonder he declined a step so fatal to himself, and which would have established the grandeur of another on the ruins of his own. This refusal occasioned a delay. But, as every other circumstance was settled, the Bishop of Ross, in name of his mistress, and the Duke, in person, declared, in presence of the French ambassador, their mutual consent to the marriage; and a contract to this purpose was signed, and entrusted to the keeping of the ambassador.

The intrigue was now in so many hands, that it could not long remain a secret. It began to be whispered at court; and Elizabeth calling the Duke into her presence, expressed the utmost indignation at his conduct, and charged him to lay aside all thoughts of prosecuting such a dangerous design. Soon after, Leicester, who perhaps had countenanced the project with no other intention, revealed the whole circumstances of it to the Queen. Pembroke, Arundel, Lumley, and Throgmorton, were confined and examined. Mary was watched more narrowly than ever; and Hastings Earl of Huntington, who pretended to dispute with the Scottish Queen her right to the succession, being

joined in commission with Shrewsbury, rendered her imprisonment more intolerable, by the excess of his vigilance and rigour. The Scottish Regent, threatened with Elizabeth's displeasure, meanly betrayed the Duke; put his letters in her hands; and furnished all the intelligence in his power. The Duke himself retired first to Howard-house; and then, in contempt of a summons to appear before the privy council, fled to his seat in Norfolk. Intimidated by the imprisonment of his associates; coldly received by his friends in that county; unprepared for a rebellion; and unwilling perhaps to rebel; he hesitated for some days, and at last obeyed a second call, and repaired to Windsor. He was first kept as a prisoner in a private house, and then sent to the Tower. After being confined there upwards of nine months, he was released upon his humble submission to Elizabeth, giving her a promise, on his allegiance, to hold no farther correspondence with the Scottish Queen. During the progress of Norfolk's negotiations, the Queen's partizans in Scotland, who made no doubt of their issuing in her restoration to the throne, with an increase of authority, were wonderfully elevated. Maitland was the soul of that party, and the person whose activity and abilities the Regent chiefly dreaded. He had laid the plan of that intrigue which had kindled such combustion in England. He continued to foment the spirit of disaffection in Scotland, and had seduced from the Regent, Lord Home, Kirkaldy, and several of his former associates. While he enjoyed liberty, the Regent could not reckon his own power secure. For this reason, he employed Captain Crawfurd, one of his creatures, to accuse him of being accessory to the murder of the King; and under that pretence, carried

him a prisoner to Edinburgh. He would soon have been brought to trial, but was saved by the friendship of Kirkaldy, governor of the castle, who, by pretending a warrant for that purpose from the Regent, got him out of the hands of the person to whose care he was committed, and conducted him into the castle, which, from that time, was entirely under Maitland's command. The loss of a place of so much importance, and the defection of a man so eminent for military skill as Kirkaldy, brought the Regent into some disreputation, for which, however, the success of his ally Elizabeth abundantly compensated.

The intrigue carried on for restoring the Scottish Queen to liberty, having been discovered, and disappointed, an attempt was made to the same purpose by force of arms; but with no better success. The Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, though little distinguished by their personal merit, were two of the most ancient and powerful of the English peers. Their estates in the northern countries were great, and they possessed that influence over the inhabitants which was hereditary in the popular and martial families of Percy and of Nevil. They were both attached to the Popish religion, and discontented with the court, where new men, and a new system prevailed. Ever since Mary's arrival in England, they had warmly espoused her interest; and zeal for popery, opposition to the court, and commiseration of her sufferings, had engaged them in different plots for her relief. Notwithstanding the vigilance of her keepers, they held a close correspondence with her, and communicated to her all their designs. They were privy to Norfolk's schemes; but the caution with which he proceeded, did not suit their ardour and impetuosity. The liberty

of the Scottish Queen was not their sole object. They aimed at bringing about a change in the religion, and a revolution in the government of the kingdom. For this reason, they solicited the aid of the King of Spain, the avowed and zealous patron of Popery in that age. Nothing could be more delightful to the restless spirit of Philip, or more necessary towards facilitating his schemes in the Netherlands, than the involving England in the confusion and miseries of a civil war. The Duke of Alva, by his direction, encouraged the two Earls, and promised, so soon as they either took the field with their forces, or surprised any place of strength, or rescued the Queen of Scots, that he would supply them both with money, and a strong body of troops. La Mothe, the governor of Dunkirk, in the disguise of a sailor, sounded the ports where it would be most proper to land. And Chiapini Vitelli, one of Alva's ablest officers, was dispatched into England, on pretence of settling some commercial differences between the two nations; but in reality, that the rebels might be sure of a leader of experience, so soon as they ventured to take arms.

The conduct of this negotiation occasioned many meetings and messages between the two Earls. Elizabeth was informed of these; and though she suspected nothing of their real design, she concluded that they were among the number of Norfolk's confidents. They were summoned, for this reason, to repair to court. Conscious of guilt, and afraid of discovery, they delayed giving obedience. A second, and more peremptory order was issued. This they could not decline, without shaking off their allegiance. And as no time was left for deliberation, they instantly erected their standard against their sovereign. The re-establishing

the Catholic religion; the settling the order of succession to the Crown; the defence of the ancient nobility; were the motives they alledged to justify their rebellion. Many of the lower people flocked to them, with such arms as they could procure; and had the capacity of the leaders been, in any degree, equal to the enterprise, it must have soon grown to be extremely formidable. Elizabeth acted with prudence and vigour; and was served by her subjects with fidelity and ardour. On the first rumour of an insurrection, Mary was removed to Coventry, a place of strength, which could not be taken without a regular siege; a detachment of the rebels, which was sent to rescue her, returned without success. Troops were assembled in different parts of the kingdom; as they advanced, the malecontents retired. In their retreat their numbers dwindled away, and their spirits sunk. Despair and uncertainty whither to direct their flight, kept together for some time, a small body of them, among the mountains of Northumberland. But they were at length obliged to disperse, and the chiefs took refuge among the Scottish borderers. The two Earls, together with the Countess of Northumberland, wandering for some days in the wastes of Liddisdale, were plundered by the banditti, exposed to the rigours of the season, and left destitute of the necessaries of life. Westmorland was concealed by Scot of Buccleugh, and Ker of Fernihirst, and afterwards conveyed into the Netherlands. Northumberland was seized by the Regent, who had marched with some troops towards the borders, to prevent any impression the rebels might make on those mutinous provinces.

Elizabeth began now to be weary of keeping such a dangerous prisoner as the Scottish Queen. During the

former year, the tranquillity of her government had been disturbed, first by a secret combination of some of her nobles, then by the rebellion of others; and she often declared, not without reason, that Mary was the hidden cause of both. Many of her own subjects favoured, or pitied the captive Queen; the Roman Catholic Princes on the Continent were warmly interested in her cause. The detaining her any longer in England, she foresaw, would be made the pretext or occasion of perpetual cabals and insurrections among the former, and might expose her to the hostile attempts of the latter. She resolved, therefore, to give up Mary into the hands of the Regent, whose security, no less than her own, depended on preventing her from reascending the throne. The negotiation for this purpose was carried some length, when it was discovered by the vigilance of the Bishop of Ross, who, together with the French and Spanish ambassadors, remonstrated against the infamy of such an action, and represented the surrendering the Queen to her rebellious subjects, to be the same thing as if Elizabeth should, by her own authority, condemn her to instant death. This procured a delay, and the murder of the Regent prevented the revival of that design.

At this time a treaty of marriage between Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou, the French King's brother, was well advanced. Both courts seemed to desire it with equal ardour, and gave out with the utmost confidence, that it could not fail of taking place. Neither of them, however, wished it success; and they encouraged it for no other end, but because it served to cover or to promote their particular designs. The whole policy of Catherine of Medicis was bent towards the accomplishment of her detestable project for the

destruction of the Hugonot chiefs; and by carrying on a negotiation for the marriage of her son with a princess who was justly esteemed the protectress of that party; by yielding some things in point of religion, and by discovering an indifference with regard to others, she hoped to amuse all the Protestants in Europe, and to lull asleep the jealousy even of the Hugonots themselves. Elizabeth flattered herself with reaping advantages of another kind. During the dependence of the negotiation, the French could not with decency give any open assistance to the Scottish Queen; if they conceived any hopes of success in the treaty of marriage, they would, of course, interest themselves but coldly in her concerns; Mary herself must be dejected at losing an ally, whom she had hitherto reckoned her most powerful protector; and by interrupting her correspondence with France, one source, at least, of the cabals and intrigues which disturbed the kingdom would be stopt. Both Queens succeeded in their schemes. Catherine's artifices imposed on Elizabeth, and blinded the Hugonots. The French discovered the utmost indifference about the interest of the Scottish Queen; and Mary, considering that court as already united with her rival, turned herself, for protection, towards the King of Spain. Philip, whose dark and thoughtful mind delighted in the mystery of intrigue, had held a secret correspondence with Mary for some time, by means of the Bishop of Ross, and had supplied both herself and her adherents in Scotland with small sums of money. Ridolphi, a Florentine gentleman, who resided at London under the character of a banker, and who acted privately as an agent for the Pope, was the person whom the Bishop intrusted with this negotiation. Mary thought it ne-

cessary, likewise, to communicate the secret to the Duke of Norfolk, whom Elizabeth had lately restored to liberty, upon his solemn promise to have no further intercourse with the Queen of Scots; which, however, he regarded so little, that she took no step in any matter of moment without his advice. She complained, in a long letter which she wrote to him in cyphers, of the baseness with which the French court had abandoned her interest; she declared her intention of imploring the assistance of the Spanish monarch, which was now her only resource; and recommended Ridolphi to his confidence, as a person capable both of explaining and advancing the scheme. The Duke commanded Hickford, his secretary, to decypher, and then to burn this letter; but whether he had been already gained by the court, or resolved at that time to betray his master, he disobeyed the latter part of the order, and hid the letter, together with other treasonable papers, under the Duke's own bed.

Ridolphi, in a conference with Norfolk, omitted none of those arguments, and spared none of those promises, which are the usual incentives to rebellion. The Pope, he told him, had a great sum in readiness to bestow in so good a cause. The Duke of Alva had undertaken to land ten thousand men, not far from London. The Catholics to a man would rise in arms. Many of the nobles were ripe for a revolt, and wanted only a leader. Half the nation had turned their eyes towards him, and called on him to revenge the unmerited injuries, which he himself had suffered; and to rescue an unfortunate Queen, who offered him her person, and her crown, as the reward of his success. Norfolk approved of the design, and though he refused

to give Ridolphi any letter of credit, allowed him to use his name, in negotiating with the Pope, and Alva. The Bishop of Ross, who, from the violence of his temper, and impatience to procure relief for his mistress, was apt to run into rash and desperate designs, advised the Duke to assemble secretly a few of his followers, and at once to seize Elizabeth's person. But this the Duke rejected, as a scheme equally wild and hazardous. Mean while, the English court had received some imperfect information of the plot, by intercepting one of Ridolphi's agents; and an accident happened, which brought to light all the circumstances of it. The Duke had employed Hickford to transmit to Lord Herreis some money, which was to be distributed among Mary's friends in Scotland. A person not in the secret was intrusted with conveying it to the borders; and he, suspecting it from the weight to be gold, whereas he had been told that it was silver, carried it directly to the privy council. The Duke, his domestics, and all who were privy, or could be suspected of being privy to the design, were taken into custody. Never did the accomplices in a conspiracy discover less firmness; or servants betray an indulgent master with greater baseness. Every one confessed the whole of what he knew. Hickford gave directions how to find the papers, which he had hidden. The Duke himself, relying at first on the fidelity of his associates, and believing all dangerous papers to have been destroyed, confidently asserted his own innocence; but when their depositions, and the papers themselves, were produced, astonished at their treachery, he acknowledged his guilt, and implored the Queen's mercy. His offence was too heinous, and too often repeated, to obtain pardon; and Elizabeth thought

it necessary to deter her subjects, by his punishment, from holding correspondence with the Queen of Scots, or her emissaries. Being tried by his peers, he was found guilty of high treason, and, after several delays, suffered death for the crime.

The discovery of this conspiracy produced many effects, extremely detrimental to Mary's interest. The Bishop of Ross, who appeared by the confession of all concerned, to be the prime mover in every cabal against Elizabeth, was taken into custody, his papers searched, himself committed to the Tower, treated with the utmost rigour, threatened with capital punishment, and after a long confinement set at liberty, on condition that he should leave the kingdom. Mary was not only deprived of a servant, equally eminent for his zeal, and his abilities, but was denied from that time, the privilege of having an ambassador at the English court. The Spanish ambassador, whom the power and dignity of the Prince he represented, exempted from such insults as Ross had suffered, was commanded to leave England. Mary herself was kept under a stricter guard than formerly, the number of her domestics abridged, and no person permitted to see her, but in presence of her keepers.

At the same time, Elizabeth, foreseeing the storm which was gathering on the continent, against her kingdom, began to wish that tranquillity were restored in Scotland; and irritated by Mary's late attempt against her government, she determined to act, without disguise or ambiguity, in favour of the King's party. This resolution she intimated to the leaders of both factions. Mary, she told them, had held such a criminal correspondence with her avowed enemies, and had excited such dangerous conspiracies both against

her crown and life, that she would henceforth consider her as unworthy of protection, and would never consent to restore her to liberty, far less to replace her on her throne. She exhorted them, therefore, to unite in acknowledging the King's authority. She promised to procure, by her mediation, equitable terms for those who had hitherto opposed it. But if they still continued refractory, she threatened to employ her utmost power to compel them to submit. Though this declaration did not produce an immediate effect; though hostilities continued in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh; though Huntly's brother, Sir Adam Gordon, by his bravery, and good conduct, had routed the King's adherents in the north, in many encounters; yet such an explicit discovery of Elizabeth's sentiments, contributed not a little to animate one party, and to depress the spirit and hopes of the other.

As Morton, who commanded the Regent's forces, lay at Leith, and Kirkaldy still held out the town and castle of Edinburgh, scarce a day passed without a skirmish. And while both avoided any decisive action, they harassed each other by attacking small parties, beating up quarters, and intercepting convoys. These operations, though little memorable in themselves, kept the passions of both factions in perpetual exercise and agitation, and wrought them up, at last, to a degree of fury, which rendered themselves regardless not only of the laws of war, but of the principles of humanity. Nor was it in the field alone, and during the heat of combat, that this implacable rage appeared; both parties hanged the prisoners they took, of whatever rank or quality, without mercy, and without trial. Great numbers suffered in this shocking manner; the unhappy victims were led, by fifties at a time, to execu-

tion; and it was not till both sides had smarted severely, that they discontinued this barbarous practice, so reproachful to the character of the nation. Meanwhile, those in the town and castle, though they had received a supply of money from the Duke of Alva, began to suffer for want of provisions. As Morton had destroyed all the mills in the neighbourhood of the city, and had planted small garrisons in all the houses of strength around it, scarcity daily increased. At last all the miseries of famine were felt, and they must have been soon reduced to such extremities, as would have forced them to capitulate, if the English and French ambassadors had not procured a suspension of hostilities between the two parties.

Though the negotiation for a marriage, between Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou, had been fruitless, both Charles and she were desirous of concluding a defensive alliance between the two crowns. He considered such a treaty, not only as the best device for blinding the Protestants, against whom the conspiracy was now almost ripe for execution; but as a good precaution, likewise, against the dangerous consequences, to which that atrocious measure might expose him. Elizabeth, who had hitherto reigned without a single ally, now saw her kingdom so threatened with intestine commotions, or exposed to invasions from abroad, that she was extremely solicitous to secure the assistance of so powerful a neighbour. The difficulties arising from the situation of the Scottish Queen, were the chief occasions of any delay. Charles demanded some terms of advantage for Mary, and her party. Elizabeth refused to listen to any proposition of that kind. Her obstinacy overcame the faint efforts of the French monarch. Mary's name was not so much as

mentioned in the treaty; and with regard to Scottish affairs, a short article was inserted, in general and ambiguous terms, to this purpose, "That the parties contracting shall make no innovations in Scotland, nor suffer any stranger to enter, and to foment the factions there; but it shall be lawful for the Queen of England to chastise, by force of arms, those Scots who shall continue to harbour the English rebels now in Scotland.—ROBERTSON.

A LETTER FROM MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS, TO HER AMBASSADOR IN FRANCE, THE ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW, MAY 2, 1578.

(A TRANSLATION.)

The Countess of Lenox, my mother-in-law, died about a month ago; and the Queen of England has taken into her care the Countess's granddaughter*. I have written to those who are about my son, to enter a claim in his name for this succession; not for any desire that I have that he should actually succeed unto it, but rather to testify, that neither he nor I ought to be reputed nor treated as foreigners in England, who are born within the same isle. This good lady was, thanks to God, in very good correspondence with me these five or six years bygone, and has confessed to me, by sundry letters under her hand, which I carefully preserve, the injury she did me by the unjust pursuits which she allowed to go out against me in her name, through bad information; but *principally, she said, through the express orders of the Queen of England, and the persuasion of her council; who also took much solicitude, that she and I might never come to good understanding together.* But how soon she came to know of my innocence, she desisted from any further pursuit against me; nay, went so far as to refuse her consent to any thing they should act against me in her name.

* This is the Lady Arabella Stewart, only child to Charles Earl of Lenox, who died anno 1576.

CHAP. XVI.

Of Buchanan's Forgeries—Death; and Regret for his Calumnies heaped on Mary.

BUCHANAN published a train of confessions concerning the murder, at the end of his Detection, sonnets, letters, and contracts. But they are all spurious, the creation of a genius that seems to have delighted itself in the boldness of its own falshoods, and to have rioted in the luxury of its own forgeries. They thus form a very proper conclusion to the letters, the sonnets, the contracts, and the Detection. And the whole work goes on from the beginning to the end, in one uniform and unvaried tone of fabricated calumny.

——Servatur ad imum
Qualis ab incepto processerit, et sibi constat.

That this is the case with his confessions, may be easily shown. They are designed to be the same with those which were really or pretendedly made by some of Bothwell's followers, and were really or pretendedly existing upon record at the time. They are accordingly said expressly, to have been made in the Tolbooth of Edinborough, the building in which the parliament was held, the privy council assembled, and the lords of session convened for the trial of civil or criminal causes. In this structure, Bothwell was tried for the murder of the King. In this, his followers were equally tried. In this, also, the rebel lords assembled for business. And in this, therefore, would their previous examination of Bothwell's followers be made. Yet the moment we compare Buchanan's with

the originals, we detect the imposition which he designs to practise upon us.

He expressly refers to the originals twice. At one time he cites them, for a circumstance concerning Mary in the confession of George Dalgleishe; "quhilk his confessioun (he says) zit remanis of record." At another, he appeals to them for all the circumstances in the execution of the murder. "The haill ordour of the doing thairof (he says), may be esilie understand [understood] by thair confessiounis, quhilk wer put to death for it." And yet this order, and that circumstance, are not to be found in his depositions. I insist not upon this, however, in order to show a difference between his and the others. I am willing to excuse where I can. I will therefore suppose, that his were calculated only to give the sum and substance of the others. But the pen which loved to sport with facts, could not content itself with fidelity, even in reciting confessions. He has made many additions, which are merely of a harmless nature. He has made some, however, that are very different. His spirit could not long confine itself within the bounds of harmlessness. The serpent may appear for a time, playing in wanton curls upon the ground. It will soon, however, rise upon its spires, and show its envenomed fang. And Buchanan returned to his natural exercise of fictitious slander.

Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo.

He accordingly inserts in one of the confessions, an intimation against Sir James Balfour, as if he had a share in the murder, and was even "the principall counsellar and devyser" of it. Yet there is not the most distant hint of a charge like this in the originals.

But this Leviathan of slander was not satisfied with

taking such gentle pastime in forgery. He must raise a tempest for his recreation. He must charge the Queen herself with a participation in the murder. He must even assert the existence of some papers, as seen by one of the culprits, and "acknawledgeing the Quenis mynd yairto." And yet, all the while, the originals themselves, even as given us by the rebels themselves, presumed not to breathe the slightest whisper of murder against her.

Nor let us wonder at this astonishing audacity in Buchanan. An audacity, even still more astonishing, in form at least, if not in substance, which he shows in the Detection itself, may make us to stare with less amazement at this. He there informs us, that the Queen and one of her bed-chamber women, let down an old and heavy lady by a string, from the top of a high wall by night; that the string broke, the old lady fell, but recovered herself, rose, and executed her commission; that she forced into Bothwell's house, forced into his bed-chamber, tore him from the arms of his wife, and dragged him out of his bed; and that then she carried this young warriour, half asleep, half naked, over the high wall, into the Queen's bed-room. Such tales, so pregnant with absurdity, did this man of great abilities suffer himself to relate! Yet "this maner and circumstances of the deid, (he says), not onlie the maist parte of thame that than were with the Quene, have confessit; bot also George Daglische, Bothwellis chalmerlane, a lytill befoir he was executit, planely declairit the same; quhilk his confessioun zit remanis of record." Such was the assurance of the wretch, as to refer in form to a record for a slander, when the record itself does not contain a single syllable concerning it.

But it was happy for the reputation of Mary, that he had such assurance and such absurdity. His malignity acted with all the force of a pestilential blast upon his discretion. The daring calumniator sunk into an impassioned idiot, before it. And he stands on the pillar of infamy at present, for his Detection, his sonnets, and his depositions, the second of all human forgers, and the first of all human beings, who would have so outrageously turned round upon the hand that generously fed them.

Sir Robert Cotton noted a great portion of Buchanan's confessions in his Memoirs, but they are not now extant. However, Thuanus, in a letter to Camden himself two years afterward, acknowledges to have received Sir Robert's "Memoirs," which had been sent him by the King's order in two successive packets, and carried down the history to 1582. These Memoirs, whatever is become of them now, Camden perused, no doubt, among those other papers in Sir Robert's library; to which, and to the personal informations of the owner, he pays so strong a compliment as to say, that, if the reader finds either profit or delight in his Annals, he must ascribe it to these communications. From these Memoirs, or rather from these reported conversations of the King to Sir Robert and others, he certainly derived his intelligence, concerning Buchanan's expressed contrition to the King himself. And the asserted fact stands firm, upon the credit of Camden the reporter, and upon the authority of King James the relater.

But the other part of the narrative, the account of Buchanan's dying penitence, stands even more firm. It is given by Camden, without any reference to information at all. It appears, therefore, without the

slightest shade of doubt about it. Buchanan, he says, "upon his death-bed" [at his death, moriens] "wished he might live so long, till, by recalling the truth, he might, even with his bloud, wipe away those aspersions, which he had by his bad tongue unjustly cast upon Mary." And he accordingly repeats in another place, the substance of what he has here said, and equally without any restrictions of reference. Buchanan, he tells us under 1582, "now with sorrow repented" [the words of the original are much stronger, *dolenter ingemuit*, when the word before was only *ingemiscens*, the deep sorrow of the dying moments being expressively raised above the lighter sorrow of the hour of health], "that he had formerly maintained the cause of factious people against their princes; and soon after died," *paulò post obiit*.

All these passages unite to form an account, too clear to be darkened by the doubts that have been raised against it, and too pointed to be blunted by the opposition which has been made to it. Whatever the friends and the enemies of Buchanan, have strangely conspired to insinuate against it; whatever Thuanus or his anonymous enlarger, particularly, have asserted directly to the contrary of it; the early and the final repentance of Buchanan, is too powerfully attested to be questioned. The authority of Thuanus himself is no ways equal to Camden's, for an incident in our island history. The authority of an anonymous writer, cannot carry the weight of a straw against him. The account also given by Thuanus, or his anonymous continuer, obviously confutes itself; by making Buchanan allude to what happened after his death, and anticipate the proscription of his works by parliament. "*Ubi exspiraverit* (says the forged speech of this

great forger), in *Regis potestate futurum, ut de scriptis illius pro arbitrio statueret; tantùm, quid de eâ re acturus esset, pro prudentiâ suâ anté maturé consuleret,*" &c. This is so pointed a reference, to what happened above nineteen months after he was dead, as betrays the forgery of the whole at once.

The Annals of Camden, therefore, stand unopposed. They were, before, decisive vouchers of the truth. But they are doubly decisive now. And Buchanan appears, as every good man would wish him to appear, at last stunned effectually into sobriety by the stroke of death; at last roused effectually into remorse by the terrours of judgment, and, with his dying tongue, proclaiming loudly the falshood and forgery of his calumnies against Mary.

Concerning the anonymous enlarger of Thuanus, Bayle gives us this account, in that multifarious collection of facts and opinions, which is called his Dictionary. Varillas, he tells us, says thus in the preface to his five volumes de l'Histoire de l'Heresie. "There are in the [French] King's library, the five volumes of the President de Thuanus's history, in the margins whereof the youngest of Messieurs du Puy had written with his own hand the most curious facts, that he and his brother had judged fit to be retrenched from it, when it was printed. I have read in the additions to the 4th volume, that Buchanan being ready to expire," &c. But this very same Varillas, as Bayle observes, touches the same subject again in the body of his work, and reports the fact very differently. "In the original of M. de Thuanus's history (he then says), in the place where the death of Buchanan is spoken of, there is written with that illustrious president's own hand, That James the Sixth," &c. "These variations and these

shufflings (adds Bayle himself), maintain the preference that Camden deserves." But they do more. They prove, that Varillas forged the whole story. Had he ever seen a copy with such additions, he could not have asserted the additions at one time, to be the hand-writing of Mons. du Puy the younger, and to be reasons for such retrenchments, as the two Messieurs du Puy thought proper to be made in the book; and have affirmed them at another, to be not in the hand-writing of Mons. du Puy at all, but in that of Thuanus himself. And the non-appearance of such a copy in the French King's, or any other library, from the days of Varillas to the present time, is a confirmation of the inference deduced from this gross contradiction; and concurs with it, and with the forged speech above, to prove the whole a forgery of Varillas's.

Nor is this all the forgery that I wish to expose here. When formerly a poet died, his brother-bards used to write verses upon him, hang them on his hearse, and lay them in the grave with him. Just so the forgers appear to have acted with Buchanan: the hearse and grave of the grand forger are infamously decorated with those of his brothers in iniquity.—WHITAKER.

A LETTER FROM MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO ELIZABETH QUEEN OF ENGLAND, FROM THE HOUSE OF LORD SHREWSBURY, AT SHEFFIELD, WHERE SHE HAD LONG BEEN A PRISONER.

According to what I have promised you, and you have desired, I declare to you now, that with regret that such things have been brought into question, but very sincerely and without any passion, for which I appeal to my God as witness, that the Countess of Shrewsbury told me what follows concerning you, pretty nearly in these terms: to the most part of which I protest to have replied, reprehending the said lady for believing or talking so freely of you; as matter, that I did not believe, and do not believe at present, knowing the nature of the Countess, and with what spirit she was then egged on against you.

First, that one, to whom she said you had made a promise of marriage before a lady of your bed-chamber, had lain down infinite times with you, with all the freedom and familiarity that can be used betwixt a husband and wife; but that undoubtedly you was not as all other women are, and for this reason it was folly in all those who favoured your marriage with Monsieur the the Duke of Anjou, because it could never be consummated; and that you would not ever give up the liberty of bespeaking love, and of having your pleasure continually with new lovers; regretting this, said she, that you would not be content with Master Haton, and one other of this realm; but that, for the honour of the country, she was most grieved, that you not only had pawned your honour with a stranger of the name of Simier, going to find him by night in the chamber of a lady, whom the said Countess blamed greatly for this business, where you kissed him, and used divers dishonest familiarities with him, but also revealed the secrets of the realm to him, betraying to him your own counsellors.

That you behaved with the same dissoluteness towards the Duke his master, who had been to find you one night at the door of your bed-chamber, where you met him with only your shift and bed-gown on; and that afterwards you suffered him to enter, and that he stayed with you nearly three hours.

As to the said Haton, that you ran him down by violence, making the love which you bore him appear so public, that he himself was constrained to retire from you; and that you gave Kiligreu a box on the ear, because he had not brought back the said Haton, whom you had sent him to recall, and who had departed from you in wrath, for some reproaches which you had uttered to him, on account of certain buttons of gold which he had upon his clothes.

That she had laboured to make a match between the said Haton and the late Countess of Lenox her daughter; but, for fear of you, durst not enterprise it; that even the Earl of Oxford durst not re-accord with his wife, for fear of losing the favour which he hoped to receive by making love to you.

That you was profuse to all such persons, and those who meddled with such practices; as to one Gorge, of your bed-chamber, to whom you had given three hundred pounds in rents, because he had brought you the news of Haton's return; that to all others you was very ungrateful and niggardly; and that there were but three or four persons in the realm to whom you had ever been bountiful.

Counselling me, while she laughed extremely, to enter my son in the lists for making love to you; as a matter that would greatly serve me, and would dislodge Monsieur the Duke from his quarters, who would prove very prejudicial to me if he continued there: and on my replying that this would be taken for an absolute mockery, she answered me, that you was as vain, and

had as good an opinion of your beauty, as if you were some goddess of the sky; that she would take it upon her life, she could easily make you believe it, and you would receive my son in this light.

That you took so great a pleasure in flatteries beyond all reason, that it had been said to you expressly, that there was no venturing at times to look full upon you, because your face shone like the sun; that she, and other ladies of the court, were constrained to use this language; and that, in her last journey to you, she and the late Countess of Lenox, while she was speaking to you, durst not look the one towards the other, for fear of bursting out into a laugh, at the flams which she was putting upon you; praying me at her return to rebuke her daughter, whom she could not ever persuade to do the same; and, as to her daughter Talbot, she was sure she could not ever refrain from laughing in your face.

The said lady, Talbot, when she went to perform the reverence, and to take the oath to you, as one of your servants, immediately on her return relating the act to me [Mary], as an act done in mockery, begged me to accept the like, but more felt and full towards me, which I refused a long time; but at last, constrained by her tears, I suffered her to do it; she saying, that she would not, for any thing in the world, be in your service, near your person, because she should be in fear, that when you was in wrath, you would do to her as you did to her cousin Skedmur, one of whose fingers you broke, and made those of the court believe that it was broken by a chandelier falling down from above; and that you gave another lady, as she was waiting upon you at table, a great blow with a knife upon the hand.

And, in a word, because of these last points, and common petty reports, you may believe that you was acted and represented by my women, as in a comedy among themselves; and, finding it out, I swear to you, that I forbad my women from meddling in such work any more.

Further, the said Countess at another time apprized me, that you would fain have appointed Rolson to make love to me, and try to dishonour me, either in fact, or by evil report; for which he had instructions from your own mouth: that Ruxby came here about eight years ago, to make an attempt upon my life; having talked with you yourself, who had told him that it was the business to which Walsingham would recommend and direct him.

When the said Countess prosecuted the marriage of her son Charles with one of the nieces of my Lord Paget, and when you, on the other hand, wanted to have her, by pure and absolute authority, for one of the Knoles, because he was your relation, she exclaimed against you, and said that it was an actual tyranny, in wanting to carry off at your fancy, all the heiresses in the land; and that you had used the said Paget with indignity, by abusive

words; but that at last the nobles of this realm would not suffer this from you, if you addressed yourself to some other ladies, whom she knew well.

About four or five years ago, when you was sick, and I also at the same time, she says to me, that your sickness proceeded from the closing up of an ulcer, which you had in one leg; and that without doubt, as you was coming to lose your m——s, you would die soon; pleasing herself upon it, in a vain imagination which she has had a long time, from the prophecies of one called John Lenton, and of an old book, that foretold your death by violence, and the succeeding of another Queen, whom she interpreted to be me, regretting only, that by the said book it was foretold, that the Queen who must succeed you should reign only three years, and should die like you by violence, which was represented even in painting, upon the said book, of which there was a concluding leaf, containing something which she never chose to tell me. She knows herself, that I [Mary] always took this for pure folly; but she did lay her account well, to be the principal lady with me, and also that my son should marry my niece Arbela.

At the close, I swear again all at once upon my faith and honour, that what is above is very true; and that such of it as concerns your honour, has never fallen from me with a design to give you pain by revealing it; and that it shall never be known from me, who consider it as very false. If I can have that happiness to speak with you, I will tell you more particularly the names, times, places, and other circumstances to make you understand the truth, both of these things, and of others, which I reserve till I shall be wholly assured of your friendship, which as I desire more than ever so, if I can obtain it this time, you shall not have a relation, friend, or even subject, more faithful and affectionate than I shall be to you.

For God's sake rest assured of her, who is willing and able to obey you.

From my bed, forcing my arms and pains to serve you,

MARY REGINA.

Sheffield, April, 1584.

——MADEMOISELLE DE KERALIO.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Queen Elizabeth—Anecdotes from Sir Robert Naunton—Elizabeth's Vanity, and Maiden Resolves—Of her Gallants—Of the celebrated Letter from Mary to Elizabeth, regarding the Countess of Shrewsbury's Gossip—Of Walsingham's Treachery—Of Lady Shrewsbury—Part of a Letter from Elizabeth to Mary—Melville flatters Elizabeth—His Detail of her Manners—Her loose Conduct—Her Favourites—Of Raleigh's Venus and Diana in her Sixty-first Year—Her Love to Simier, and the Duke of Anjou, his Master—Anecdotes.

I HAVE now gone over the letters. It has been a tiresome employ, to read, to transcribe, and to comment upon, such a mass of impertinence and dulness. But it has answered an useful purpose, I trust. The letters have never been examined, with so much strictness before. A regular survey of them was much wanted*. Great mistakes had been made, concerning their meaning and their language. These it was requisite to tear away, as the showy pilasters of the old fabrick of forgery; after I had thrown down all the supporting pillars of it. And, having done this, I wish to do one thing more. These letters were first brought into England through Elizabeth, and first given to the publick in England by Elizabeth. She published them, in order primarily to blast the character of Mary for unchastity, to exhibit her as a wanton woman to all the island, and to hang her up as a shameful spectacle of whoredom to the eyes of the whole continent.

* Whitaker alludes to the letters ascribed to Mary, and addressed to Bothwell.

And it is therefore become a necessary act of retributory justice, to close my preceding vindication of Mary from this slander, with some exposure of Elizabeth, for the very offence so falsely ascribed by her to Mary.

Elizabeth's mode of swearing was very different. She was so much in the habit of audacious profaneness, that she had what was considered as her "wonted oath." And she was very frequently swearing, by God's death.—*(Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia).*

Sir Robert Naunton says accordingly of Elizabeth, that "she was of a personage tall, of hair and complexion fair, and therewith well-favoured."—*(Phenix,* i. 183).

Leicester, says Sir Robert Naunton, "was a very goodly person, and singular well-featured, and all his youth well-favoured, and of a sweet aspect;" for she, the Queen, with some exceptions, "always took personage in the way of her election."

"Hatton came into court, Sir John Perrot was wont to say, by the galliard; for he came thither as a private gentleman of the inns of court, in a mask; and for his activity and person, which was tall and proportionable, taken into her favour."—*(Naunton,* 205).

Sir Robert also, who in general knows only as much of the interiour characters of the Queen and her courtiers, as a gentleman-usher or a page of the back-stairs usually does; confirms the hint here given, of Elizabeth's niggardliness to all but her gallants, &c. "We have not," says he, "many precedents of her liberality, or of any large donatives to particular men; my Lord of Essex book of parkes only excepted, which was a princely gift, and some few more of a lesser size to my Lord of Leicester, Hatton, and others."

"Sir W. Rawleigh had, in the outward man, a good

presence, in a handsome and well-compacted person." —(*Naunton*, 209).

As to Blount, we have a very particular account of him and of Elizabeth, from the hands of Sir Robert Naunton. In his pleasing gallery of historical pictures, he has hung up the Queen with her paramours on each side of her, without any seeming intention of marking them as her paramours, and yet really doing so. "Blount (he says) had a pretty strange kind of admission into court; which I have heard from a discreet man of his own, and much more of the secrets of those times. He was then much about twenty years of age;" a particular, that coincides exactly with Morgan's intimation before, concerning his extreme youthfulness, when Elizabeth fixed her kind regards upon him. He was "of a brown hair, a sweet face, a most neat composure, and tall in his person. The Queen was then at Whitehall, and at dinner; whither he came to see the fashion of the court. The Queen had soon found him out; and, with a kind of affected frown, asked the Lady Carver what he was. She answered, she knew him not. Insomuch as an inquiry was made from one to another, who he might be; till at length it was told the Queen, he was brother to the Lord William Mountjoy. This inquisition, with the eye of Majesty fixed upon him (as she was wont to do, and to daunt men she knew not), stirred the blood of this young gentleman; insomuch as his colour came and went: which the Queen observing, called him unto her, and gave him her hand to kiss; incouraging him with gracious words and new looks. And, so, diverting her speech to the Lords and Ladies, she said, that she no sooner observed him, but that she knew there was in him some noble blood; with some other expressions

of pity towards his house. And then, again demanding his name, she said, fail you not to come to the court, and I will bethink myself how to do you good." This presents us with a significant picture of Elizabeth's mind. The bold eye of the discontented Old Maid, was continually wandering through her court, in quest of new lovers. Her taste however was good. She always pitched upon the handsome. And her eye generally rested upon the blooming cheek of youth. She was thus struck immediately, with the "brown hair," the "sweet face," the "most neat composure," and the "tall person," of this young man of twenty. She singled him out from the croud of casual spectators. Her old blood began to tingle at the sight of him. She put on "an affected frown," to disguise her sudden love. Yet her spirits were in such a strong alarm of curiosity, that those could not subside till this was gratified. An enquiry was hastily circulated round the room, after the name and family of the stranger at the door, who had made such an impression upon the too yielding heart of the Queen. Her licentious eye, still "feeding on his damask cheek," all the while pointed out the object. She knew by the instinctive flutters of her heart, that there was noble blood in his veins. He was therefore not unworthy to be admitted to her favours. She called the blushing and astonished youth up to her. He came, all unconscious of his powers, and wrapped up perhaps in his virgin innocence. She changed her "affected frown" into a heart-sent smile. She gave him her hand to kiss. She expressed a compassion for the distressed condition of his house. She again enquired after his name. She bad him not to fail in future attendance at court. And she promised to prefer him.

"This," says Sir Robert, "was his inlet, and the beginnings of his grace." In such a manner was this innocent fly drawn into the snares of that ever-watchful spider. But he soon ceased to be innocent. She knighted him. And he did her knight's service. "My Lord Mountjoy," as Sir Robert incidentally informs us under a different character, "who was another child of her favour, being newly come to court, and then but Sir Charles Blunt, had the good fortune one day to run very well a tilt; and the Queen therewith was so well pleased, that she sent him, in token of her favour, a Queen at chesse, of gold richly enameled: which his servants had the next day fastened on his arm, with a crimson ribband; which my Lord of Essex, as he passed through the privy chamber, espying, with his cloke cast under his arm, the better to command it to the view; inquired what it was, and for what cause there fixed. Sir Fulk Greville told him, that it was the Queen's favour, which the day before, and after the tilting, she had sent him. Whereat my Lord of Essex," as being another favourite of hers in the same way, and at the same time, "in a kind of emulation, and as though he would have limited her favour, said, 'Now I perceive every fool must have a favour.'" Thus was the knighted youth parading about, and glorying in the disgraceful favours of his lewd mistress; a devoted victim, shaking his garlands, and dressed out for the altar. He heard however of the scoff; and had the presumption in his new interest with Elizabeth, to challenge her prior gallant. "They met near Maribone Park." Essex was wounded and disarmed. Hearing of the fact, the Queen "swore by God's death, it was fit some one or other should take him down, and teach him better manners; otherwise there would be no rule

with him." And this was "the inition of my Lord's friendship" with Blunt, "which the Queen herself did then conjure."

"His brother dyed," Sir Robert goes on to tell us, "shortly after his admission to the court. There was in him an inclination to arms, with a humour of travelling and gadding abroad; which, had not some wise men about him laboured to remove, and the Queen herself laid in her commands, he would (out of his natural propension) have marred his own market. For he had a company in the Low Countries, from whence he came over with a noble acceptance of the Queen, but somewhat restless; and in honourable thought he exposed himself again and again, and would press the Queen with the pretences of visiting his company, so often, that at length he had a flat denial. Yet he stole over with Sir John Norris into the action of Britany; till at last the Queen began to take his decessions for contempts, and confined his residence to the court and her own presence*."

Elizabeth very early made proud and solemn pretensions, to a life of virgin purity. In 1559, when she was only in the twenty-sixth year of her age, and the commons solicited her to marry; she returned them this high-toned answer: "Concerning marriage, (said she), which ye so earnestly move me to, I have been long since perswaded, that I was sent into this world by God, to think and doe those things chiefly, which may tend to his glory. Hereupon have I chosen that

* Phenix, i. 215, 211, 212, and 216. Camden also says of a Sir Christopher Blunt, a person totally distinct from Sir Charles Lord Montjoy; that one "Waite had been formerly sent into Holland by Leicester, who was jealous of Blunt, to kill him." (Trans. 610, Orig. ii. 225).

kind of life, which is most free from the troublesome cares of this world, that I might attend the service of God alone. From which, if either the tendred marriages of most potent princes, or the danger of death intended against me, could have removed me, I had long ago enjoyed the honour of an husband. And these things have I thought upon, when I was a private person. But that, now that the publick care of governing the kingdom is laid upon me; to draw upon me also the cares of marriage, may seem a point of inconsiderate folly. Yet, to satisfie you, I have already joyned myself in marriage to an husband, namely, the kingdom of England. And behold (said she), which I marvell ye have forgotten, the pledge of this my wedlock and marriage with my kingdom." And therewith she drew the ring from her finger, and shewed it; wherewith, at her coronation, she had, in a set form of words, solemnly given herself in marriage to her kingdom. Here having made a pause—"And do not (saith she) upbraid me," &c. "To me it shall be a full satisfaction, both for the memoriall of my name, and for my glory also; if, when I shall let [out] my last breath, it be ingraven upon my marble tomb, Here lieth Elizabeth, which reigned a virgin and died a virgin*." A nun, when she has just now taken the veil, and when those peculiar coronets of glory, which are supposed to be reserved in Heaven for the Holy Virgins of earth, are now shining bright before her imagination, could hardly have acted in a livelier manner, and hardly have spoken in a stronger language, than this.

Nor was this self-devotion of the royal nun, merely

* Camden, Orig. i. 35, Trans. 27.

the momentary resolution of a young woman, uttered in a fervour of intemperate zeal, and repented of in the prevalence of passion afterwards. It was steadily persisted in, to the last. This a memorable passage in Shakespeare very plainly shows us. Plays have always been the sure and faithful mirrours of the age in which they were exhibited. They have constantly shown "the very age and body of the time, his form and pressure." Shakespeare's, from his quick attention to the moving characters and floating passions before him, do peculiarly so. And he has marked with the spirit of a critical discerner, and complimented with the pliancy of a theatrical writer, this favourite principle of virginity in his royal mistress.

> That very time I saw, but thou couldst not,
> Flying between the cold moon and the earth,
> Cupid all-arm'd: a certain aim he took
> At a fair vestal throned by the west,
> And loos'd his love-shaft smartly from his bow,
> As it should pierce a hundred thousand hearts:
> But I might see young Cupid's fiery shaft,
> Quench'd in the chaste beams of the watery moon;
> And the imperial votress passed on
> In maiden meditation, fancy-free.

And she appears accordingly to have worne "the bridal ring" of England, from her first assumption of it in 1559, at the marriage of this female Doge with the Adriatick, to her final illness in January 1602-3. "The courtiers—report (as Camden tells us), that she then commanded that ring, wherewith she had been (as it were) joined in marriage to her kingdom at her inauguration, and had never since taken off, to be filed off from her finger; because it was so grown into the flesh, that it could not be drawn off*."

* Camden, Orig. ii, 283, Trans. 659.

Yet all this was merely hypocrisy. It was an hypocrisy, begun very early, continued very late, and persisted in throughout the whole extent of her reign. This her conduct to the Earl of Leicester, decisively shows. 'She answered' to me, says the embassadour of Mary in 1564, "it appeared that I made but small account of my Lord Robert [Leicester, then only Lord Robert Dudley], seeing that I named the Earl of Bedford before him;" but said, "that ere long she would make him a far greater Earl, and that I should see it done before my returning home. For she esteemed him as her brother and best friend, whom she would have herself married, had she ever minded to have taken a husband. But, being determined to end her life in virginity, she wished that the Queen her sister might marry him, as meetest of all other, with whom she could find in her heart to declare her second person," that is, to declare her heir and successor. 'And that the Queen my mistress might have the higher esteem of him, I was required to stay till I should see him made Earl of Leicester and Baron of Denbigh; which was done at Westminster with great solemnity, the Queen herself helping to put on his ceremonial,' his mantle of state, which our Sovereigns always helped in putting on, at the formal creation of an Earl, 'he sitting upon his knees before her with great gravity. But she could not refrain from putting her hand in his neck, tickling him; the French ambassadour and I standing by. Then she turned, asking me, how I liked him. I answered, That, as he was a worthy servant, so he was happy, who had a Princess who could discern and reward good services.—She told me, She was not so much offended with the Queen's angry letter,' though she had before declared

it 'to be written to her with such despiteful language, that she thence conjectured all friendship and familiarity to be given up; as that she seemed so far to disdain the marriage of my Lord of Leicester, which she had caused Mr. Randolph to propose to her.' Afterwards 'she took me to her bed-chamber, and opened a little cabinet, wherein were divers little pictures wrapped within paper, and their names written with her own hand upon the papers. Upon the first that she took up, was written my Lord's picture. I held the candle, and pressed to see that picture so named. She appeared loath to let me see it. Yet my importunity prevailed for a sight thereof, and found it to be the Earl of Leicester's picture. I desired, that I might have it to carry home to my Queen; which she refused, alledging that she had but that picture of his.' And the embassadour adds at the close, on Mary's asking him, if he thought Elizabeth as friendly in heart as she was in words, 'I answered freely, that in my judgment, there was neither plain dealing nor upright meaning, but great dissimulation, emulation, and fear, lest her princely qualities should over soon chace her from the kingdom, as having already hindered her marriage with the Arch-duke Charles of Austria. It appeared likewise to me, by her offering unto her with great appearing earnestness my Lord of Leicester, whom I knew at that time she could not want,' that is, could not do without*. Yet this was the woman, who was "determined to end her life in virginity." Hypocrisy of speech is always betrayed by its own contrariety of action. That indeed is frequently not hypocritical in promise, which is contra-

* Melvill, 47—48, 46, and 53.

dicted eventually in the performance. But that is certainly hypocritical, which continues the speech at the very moment it contradicts it in action. And Elizabeth's was evidently an hypocrisy of the grossest kind.

Yet Leicester was not the only gallant, with whom this determined virgin indulged herself. She had others. A letter of the time shows the fact, in all its sweeping comprehensiveness of profligacy. This letter is written by Mary herself. But it contains merely the intelligence that was communicated to her by the wife of her keeper, the Countess of Shrewsbury. And Mary relates it all to Elizabeth, not with any view of reproaching her, but with the aim only of showing the disposition of the Countess towards her*.

Mr. Carte indeed, who had merely heard of it, says thus concerning it. Nothing else, but Elizabeth's "insulting her prisoner," and "upbraiding her in letters with those infamous calumnies," he tells us, "could have provoked Mary to have wrote her answers, charging her, and the woman of her bed-chamber, with a course of wanton amours; and naming the very persons, that ministered to their pleasures. The lord treasurer Burleigh took care, to keep these letters from coming to Elizabeth's hands; but preserved them: and they were afterwards buried two feet under ground, in his son the Earl of Salisbury's house, at Hatfield in Hertfordshire. They were there found a few years ago, in a stone chest, rolled up in woollen; and were shown by the publisher of Burghley's papers," Haynes, who published in 1740, "to the late master of the rolls, at his seat at Belbar in that neighbourhood, and to another

* Page 255, *ante*.

venerable gentleman still living." This account shows us very clearly, the customary confusedness of all traditional notices. Mr. Carte and his informant reported each, what each believed to be true. But they framed one wild mass of mistakes, in their report. They totally mis-understood the exhibitor of the letters. They actually fancied the letters two, when they were only one. They actually imagined "the woman of the bed-chamber" to Elizabeth, to be equally with Elizabeth herself, "charged—with a course of wanton amours;" when no "woman of her bed-chamber" is here noted for such a "course," and when neither she nor Elizabeth are "charged" with any at all. And the whole narrative of wrapping the letters "in woollen," of repositing them "in a stone chest," and of burying all "two feet under ground in—the Earl of Salisbury's house at Hatfield;" is all some relation of another event, indistinctly heard by the relator, and untruly applied to the present letter. That such a letter should be so buried, exceeds all power of belief. That one or two letters should be buried in such an ample repository as a stone chest, surpasses all stretch of imagination. And that either it, or any other, should be "preserved" above ground by Cecil for some time; "afterwards" buried in the earth by him; buried too, not even in his own house, but in that of his second son; and all,—in order to keep it from Elizabeth's inspection, as if Elizabeth would ransack the cabinet of the father for it, the cabinet of the son, the libraries of both, and even the very floors of the ground-rooms at the father's; when she could know nothing of the letter, all the time: still more surpasses all stretch of imagination, and still further exceeds all power of belief.

But indeed the pretended fact is disproved by ex-

ternal testimony. "The concealment and discovery," says Mr. Murdin, who published the letter from the Hatfield collection of papers, "as there represented" by Mr. Carte, "is entirely un-supported from any evidence, that is come to my knowledge. The letter itself, in the original, I found open amongst the other papers of the Earl of Salisbury's library, without any appearance of design to have it secreted." It might well be "open" then, and then "without any appearance of design to have it secreted;" when it had been already carried by Mr. Haynes from Hatfield-house to Belbar, and shown there by him to the master of the rolls and another gentleman. But we next come to a more material point. "And the manner in which it was discovered, as Mr. Carte affirms ——, is a circumstance absolutely unknown to any one person in my Lord Salisbury's family; as far as I can learn from the strictest inquiry I have made concerning it*." Such a discovery as this, is an incident so very singular in itself, and so powerfully calculated to strike upon the wonder-loving fancies, and to rest upon the wonder-keeping memories, of all the subordinates particularly, in the family at Hatfield; as would naturally be transmitted from month to month, through two or three generations at least; and could not possibly have been lost in the "few years" only, that preceded Mr. Carte's writing, who published in 1752, and the seven years only, that afterwards preceded Mr. Murdin's enquiry, who published in 1759. And a negative evidence, so circumstanced, mounts up into positive, and becomes irrefragable.

This letter then was not concealed from Elizabeth.

* Murdin, 560.

There was no need to conceal it. It was not written by Mary, in any spirit of recrimination upon her, as Mr. Hume additionally suggests it was; and suggests, not, like Mr. Carte, from a verbally communicated mis-repesentation of it, but even after he had actually perused it himself in print*. Yet the whole tenour of the letter shows it was not. The intelligence in it, appears to have been previously offered by Mary, and previously desired by Elizabeth. This is now delivered by Mary, with regret that such things have been said to her, and with a protestation that she chid Lady Shrewsbury at the time, for most of them; because she did not believe them then, and does not believe them now, to be true. She attributed all to the natural disposition of the Countess, and to the spirit of dislike which she then had for Elizabeth. She also declares, that they have not come from her at present, with any design of giving pain to Elizabeth by revealing them; and that they shall never be farther known from her, because she considers them as very false. She accordingly calls God to witness at the beginning, that she has delivered them very sincerely, and without any bias of passion upon her. She again vows "upon her faith and honour," at the end, that the whole is represented as it was delivered. She adds, that if she can have the happiness of a personal conference with Elizabeth, she will then lay open particularly the names, times, places, and other circumstances, of what she has related in this letter; and also of some other stories, which she reserves for the period, when she shall be fully assured of Elizabeth's friendship. This she desires, she says, more than ever. Nor, if she can

* Hist. v. 287.

obtain it, shall any relation, friend, or even subject, be more faithful and affectionate to Elizabeth, than she shall be. And she concludes the whole in this very affecting manner: "For God's sake be assured of her, who is willing and able to serve you; from my bed, forcing my arm and my pains, to satisfy and obey you."

Mary, then, wrote this letter from no principle of provocation against Elizabeth. She composed it from a very opposite principle. She hoped to win upon her generosity by her explicitness; to procure a personal interview with her, by a promise of still greater explicitness; and to secure her friendship at last by both. With this hope, she revealed the conversation of a woman to whom she owed no friendship; the Countess having insinuated to Elizabeth against her, that she and the Earl were too intimate together. "That—the fidelity of the Earl of Shrewsbury (says Camden in 1584)—might not seem to be suspected, (for it was not thought good, openly to blemish so great a man's reputation, which, notwithstanding, they had stained secretly by calumnies, grounded upon the false accusations of his ill-conditioned wife), suspicions were laid hold of," &c.* These calumnies are oddly particularized on his tomb-stone. It is there said, "that his integrity" in keeping Mary, "was not to be suspected in the least, although evil-disposed persons gave out, that he used too much familiarity with his royal prisoner†." And it was traditionally reported of his wife near the time, that she "coming to court, and Elizabeth demanding how the Queen of

* Camden, Orig. i. 363, Trans. 303.

† Collins's Peerage, ii. 419, and i. 297, edit. 4th.

Scots did, she said, Madam, she cannot do ill [in spirits], while she is with my husband; and I begin to grow jealous, they are so great together *."

But Mary herself notices these slanders, in a couple of letters to Mons. Mauvissiere, the French embassadour at London. "I have written to you amply two times (she says), concerning these abominable reports circulated, of my conversation with the Earl of Shrewsbury, issuing only from his good wife; of whom in the end I shall be constrained to take hold with all openness, if the Queen of England will not clear me from this calumny: two considerations only have kept me to the present hour, from seizing the advantage which I have against her, by discovering before the said Queen of England and her council, her private behavious towards myself, and in my cause with the Earl of Leicester and some other lords of the realm. The first point with me, is to preserve my reputation for integrity and steadiness, among those who are well affected towards me.—The other consideration is this, That though I can particularly charge this unhappy woman with various speeches, boasts, and practices, as well against her Queen, as against me and some lords of this land, yet I fear to do wrong to her husband, because it will be found strange by what means I could have the knowledge of so many of the things. But there is nothing in the end that I do not hazard, to succeed as far as I can in the preservation of my honour, which is dearer to me than a thousand lives. I therefore require you, with all the affection that I can, to continue livelily the course which you have begun, for my reparation under this detestable calumny.—All

* Collins, i. 298.

these troubles proceed entirely from the Earl of Leicester and from Walsingham, who, I am certainly informed, have sent to the said Countess a copy of the last letters which I have written to you*." In another letter a little while afterwards, to the same person—"I pray you (she says), that in order to make the Queen of England see more clearly the falsity of mine honourable hostess, you find means to tell her betwixt you and her privately, and drawing (if possible), a promise from her not to reveal it, or call it ever in question, That nothing has ever alienated her so much from me to the saying the above of me, as the vain hope conceived by her to make her [Elizabeth's] crown fall on the head of Arabella, her grand-daughter. And that it was not possible, without such an imagination, of making one of her race Queen, for the said Countess to have been ever diverted from me, being so strongly attached to me without reserve of any duty and any respect."—She then mentions a couple of anecdotes, concerning the Countess's "behaviour to" her. "I do not desire at present (she adds), to produce any but these two little patterns; by which the Queen of England may judge, what the whole and entire piece can be, woven and finished all the years that have passed between the Countess and me. It will suffice for you to say to the Queen of England, that you have

* Histoire d'Elisabeth Reine d'Angleterre, &c. par Mademoiselle De Keralio, &c. à Paris, v. 361-363, the letter at full length, taken from Bibl. Harl. No. 1582, fol. 311. Papiers de M. de Breguigny.—All the letters of Mary's to Mauvissiere that are in this register, says the author, "sont de la main de Secretaire de Mauvissiere Castelnau," who appears from the fact above to have copied his master's letters, and then to have sent them to Walsingham. Such a deep scene of private villainy, was carried on by this minister of Elizabeth's!

understood these particulars above, concerning the said lady, and that you think assuredly, if it shall please her, by some good way to require friendlily from me the actions of the said Countess, I shall be able to discover to her some things of much greater importance. But principally gain this point, if possible, that she keep it secret, without ever naming you; you, who have been induced to reveal such a thing to her, from the affection which you bear, to the welfare of her government, and in order that she may know of a truth, what trust she ought to have in the said Countess, of whom you think that; with a present of two thousand crowns, I could gain her as much as I pleased*."

For such a woman, so "detestable a calumniator," and so much in league with Walsingham and Leicester, Mary had no reason to keep any reserves to Elizabeth. She had also pressing reasons of her own, to open her heart to Elizabeth. She found herself ready to be removed, through the calumnies of the Countess, out of the care of the Earl. She was to be put into the hands of the Earl of Huntingdon. "The partisans of my good neighbour the Earl of Huntingdon," she says in her second letter above, "I much fear, will not ever permit any species of friendship between us, because that then they will have the means of strength and power to ruin us; which, as I believe, is their true design†." To prevent this, if possible, and so to prevent what she foresaw, the murder of herself; she endeavoured to destroy the credit of the woman, by whose insinuations she considered the removal to be

* Keralio, v. 375-377, the letter at full length, from the Harleian Library too, No. 1582, fol. 313.

† Keralio, v. 375.

meditated, at this moment. She therefore, insinuated to Elizabeth by Mauvissiere, as we see above, that the Countess had views upon the crown for her granddaughter. She also insinuated in a part of the said letter, of which I have given no extract above, that the Countess had voluntarily offered to her, always and whenever Mary's life should be in danger, or she should wish to remove from thence, she (the Countess) would furnish her with the means of escaping, and, being a woman, she should easily avoid all danger and punishment; and that she assured her, her son Charles resided in London expressly for her service, and, to apprize her of all that passed at court, even keeping two strong good horses continually and purposedly, to advertise her with all speed of the death of Elizabeth, who was then ill*. Mauvissiere executed his commission. Elizabeth requested to have the communication from herself, and upon paper. Mary therefore stepped forward to grant her request; to tell her all the conversation of the Countess, concerning the private life of Elizabeth, with a free explicitness; so to soften the marble heart of the Queen at last, by her openness; to make way for a personal conference with her, concerning some points of greater consequence, that she promised and yet reserved; to terminate her long imprisonment, and avert her intended murder. And indeed every generous reader must be sensibly touched, with the view of Mary here; "in an afflicted state of body and health," as she mournfully told Elizabeth in a letter of 1582†; or, more circumstantially in itself,

* Keralio, v. 375-376.

† Camden, Orig. i. 336; Trans. 279. In May, 1581, she writes as mournfully, and more particularly, in another letter to Mauvissiere. She desires him to require from Elizabeth, permission to have "*un Coche ou*

and more appositely to her present case, lying "in her bed," as her keeper Paulet wrote in September 1586, "troubled after her old manner with a defluxion, which was fallen down into the side of her neck, and had bereft her of the use of one of her hands*;" now writing to Elizabeth "from her bed," now "forcing her" rheumatick "arm to write," and equally "forcing" her mind into an in-attention to all "her pains;" in order "to satisfy" Elizabeth's wishes for the intelligence; to "obey" Elizabeth's requisitions concerning it, and to play the last and final stake probably, for her own deliverance from the fangs of this female crocodile, who stood over her at the instant with expanded jaws, ready to devour her immediately, and yet pretended to be wailing in tears over her, all the time.

The contents of this letter, therefore, rest not upon the authority of Mary. She was only the conveyancer of them. She conveyed them, as she expressly tells us, "pretty nearly in the very terms," in which they were delivered to her. All centers upon the credit of the deliverer herself, Lady Shrewsbury. Nor can Mary's pronounced disbelief of them, and Mary's intimated ill-humour in the Countess, and ill-will to Elizabeth particularly, destroy the authority of them.

Mary's amiable credulity of spirit, made her a very incompetent judge in such a case as this. She originally believed, that Elizabeth would receive her

une Littiere" for taking the air; because she is become so feeble and weak, principally in her legs, that she is not able, though she is better than she has been for six months before, to walk a hundred steps, "*de faire cent. pas a pied.*" And she additionally informs him, that ever since Easter, she has been constrained, to be carried out by her servants in a chair.—(*Jebb*, ii. 519).

* Robertson, ii. 472-473.

friendlily, and assist her heartily, on her flying into England. She next believed, that Elizabeth would restore her to her crown, even after the treatment which Elizabeth had already shown her, when the conference was opened at York. And her disbelief of Lady Shrewsbury's anecdotes concerning Elizabeth, only serves to show us again in her, a heart still incapable of such outrages of conduct, and a spirit still actuated with a weak generosity of faith.

Nor can any ill-humour in Lady Shrewsbury, or any ill-will that she had conceived against Elizabeth, destroy the credit of the original relator. She might be ill-tempered. She might be prejudiced also. But this cannot supersede her testimony. She must have prejudices, if she believed only half of what she said, to be true. These might unite with her natural temper, to make her tell such secrets. But they cannot prove them false. Indeed the particular ill-will is the natural consequence of their very truth. And, as to the general ill-humour, in what court is the temper of a witness allowed to be pleaded, in order to set aside his evidence? She was, in fact, a woman sagacious and judicious; eminently qualified to see, to remember, and to make her own use of, the striking qualities of the persons about her*. She was also a lady of high

* "In this third widow-hood (says Kennet of her), she had not survived her charms of wit and beauty; by which she captivated the then greatest subject of the realm, George Earl of Shrewsbury; whom she brought to terms of the greatest honour and advantage to herself and children. On Nov. 18, 1590, she was a fourth time left, and to death continued, a widow. A change of conditions, that perhaps never fell to any one woman, to be four times a creditable and happy wife; to rise by every husband into greater wealth and higher honours; to have an unanimous issue by one husband only; to have all those children live; and all, by her advice, be honourably and creditably disposed of in her life-time; and, after all, to live seventeen years a widow, in absolute power and plenty."—*Collins*, i. 296-297.

rank and quality, in the court of Elizabeth. She there saw the procedure of the Queen herself. She there heard of it from others too. She reported to Mary, what she heard and saw. She reported both, with the authenticating additions of some names, and of many circumstances, at length. And therefore to reject her testimony, would be going too far.—WHITAKER.

PART OF A LETTER FROM ELIZABETH TO MARY, FEB. 20, 1569.

A COPY INTERLINED BY CECIL.

[It contains an answer to a complaining letter of Mary's, upon the imprisoning of the Bishop of Ross.]

——After this [*i. e.* Mary's landing in Scotland] how patiently did I bear with many vain delays in not ratifying the treaty accorded by your own commissioners, whereby I received no small unkindness, besides the manifold cause of suspicion that I might not hereafter trust to any writings. Then followed a hard manner of dealing with me, to entice my subject and near kinsman, the Lord Darnly, under colour of private suits for land, to come into the realm, to proceed in treaty of marriage with him without my knowledge, yea to conclude the same without my assent or liking. And how many unkind parts accompany'd that fact, by receiving of my subjects that were base runnegates and offenders at home, and enhansing them to places of credit against my will, with many such like, I will leave, for that the remembrance of the same cannot but be noysome to you. And yet all these did I as it were suppress and overcome with my natural inclination of love towards you; and did afterwards gladly, as you know, christen your son, the child of my said kinsman, that had before so unloyally offended me, both in marriage of you, and in other undutiful usages towards me his sovereign. How friendly also dealt I by messages to reconcile him, being your husband, to you, when others nourished discord betwixt you, who as it seemed had more power to work their purposes, being evil to you both, than I had to do you good, in respect of the evil I had received. Well, I will overpass your hard accidents that followed for lack of following my council. And then in your most extremity, when you was a prisoner indeed, and in danger of your life from your notorious evil willers, how far from my mind was the remembrance of any former unkindness you had shewed me. Nay, how void was I of respect to the designs which the world had seen attempted by you to my crown, and the security that might have ensued to my state by your death, when I finding your calamity to be great, that you were at

the pit's brink to have miserably lost your life, did not only intreat for your life, but so threatened some as were irritated against you, that I only may say it, even I was the principal cause to save your life.—ROBERTSON.

The letter of Mary to Queen Elizabeth*, is replete with intelligence of the most curious kind, for laying open the private life of Elizabeth. It shows us all the hidden and secret parts of her character, as in a magical glass. We have been too long employed in admiring her, for the strength and vigour of her spirit. We now come to have a full view of her. The glare of light indeed, which the more masculine qualities of her soul have so long spread around her, has been much moderated of late. The shade too, which that glare had thrown over the other parts of her character, has been equally brightened up. And we are come to see her at present, in the light of truth and reality; with all her weaknesses opposed to her powers, and with all her wickednesses overtopping her glories.

Her vanity, particularly, has been delineated in lively colours by the pencil of Melvill. His account is not so familiarly known, as to render the appearance of it improper here. And it is necessary to the introduction of another. "The Queen my mistress (he means of Mary), had instructed me to leave matters of gravity sometimes, and cast in merry purposes; lest

* "The Queen of Scots easily perceived, that her destruction was aimed at by the association." She was now "weary of her long misery," and yet "fearing harder measures." She therefore proposed, if her liberty should be granted her, to enter into the association herself. She would also form a defensive league between Scotland and England; would stay in England awhile, as an hostage for the observance of the league; and, on being permitted to depart, would put in other hostages. (Camden, Trans. 300; Orig. i. 360).—And then, no doubt, was this letter offered, requested, and written.

otherwise she should be wearied: she being well informed of that Queen's natural temper." This gives us an opening into the physical disposition of Elizabeth, which is not given us by any other writing; and shows her not to have been so much a woman of business, as she is universally represented to be. "Therefore, in declaring my observations of the customs of Dutchland, Poland, and Italy, the buskins of the womon was not forgot, and what countrey weed I thought best becoming gentlewomen. The Queen (who was now thirty-one), said she had clothes of every sort; which every day thereafter, so long as I was there, she changed. One day she had the English weed, another the French, and another the Italian, and so forth. She asked me, which of them became her best? I answered, in my judgment, the Italian dress; which answer, I found, pleased her well, for she delighted [afterwards] to show her golden-coloured hair, wearing a caul and bonnet, as they do in Italy. Her hair [indeed] was more reddish than yellow, curled in appearance naturally. She desired to know of me, what colour of hair was reputed best, and whether my Queen's hair or hers was best, and which of them two was fairest." Elizabeth thus overshot two of her objects, by her eagerness in aiming at three in the same moment. Not waiting for an answer to her enquiry concerning hair in general, she added instantly another about Mary's hair in particular; and she subjoined a third to both, before either was answered, concerning the beauty of Mary. So much was her vanity on the wing, in quest of its food; and so livelily fluttering was it, from one expected scene of compliment to another! And she lost all reply from Melvill, to her two questions concerning hair, by his naturally reply-

ing only to the concluding question about beauty. "I answered, the fairness of them both was not their worst faults. But she was earnest with me to declare, which of them I judged fairest. I said, she was the fairest Queen in England, and mine the fairest Queen in Scotland. Yet she appeared earnest. I answered, they were both the fairest ladies in their countries; that her Majesty was whiter, but my Queen was very lovely." And the latter part of this answer indicates, that Elizabeth had a much clearer complexion, than she is generally supposed to have had.

"She inquired, which of them was of highest stature? I said, my Queen. Then, saith she, she is too high, for I myself am neither too high or too low. Then she asked, what kind of exercises she used? I answered, that when I received my dispatch, the Queen was lately come from a Highland hunting*; that when her more serious affairs permitted, she was taken up with reading of histories; that sometimes she recreated

* Mary's activity of body and spirit, was much delighted with hunting. This appears so early as 1559, when she "riding on hunting" in France, "and following the hart of force, was in her course cast of her gelding by a boughe of a tree, and with the suddeines of the fall was not hable to call [illegible]. And albeit there dyd followe her diverse gentlemen and ladyes of her chamber; yet three or four of them passed over her, before she was espied, and somme of their horses rode so nere her, as her hood was troden of. Assone as she was reised from the grounde, she spake, and said that she felt no hurt; and herself beganne to set her heare, and dresse up her head, and so returned to the court." (*Forbes*, i. 290).—This equally appears also, so late as July 1586, in a letter of hers to Morgan. "God, (she says),—hath not yett set me so lowe, but that I am able to handle my cros-bowe for killing of a deare, and to gallop after the houndes on horseback; as this afternoone I entend to do within the limittes of this park, and cold otherwhere, if it were permitted." (*Murdin*, 534).—Elizabeth herself was fond of more gentle riding, and loved to amble on a sprightly horse. (*Forbes*, ii. 13).

herself upon the lute and virginals [a trunk-like kind of harpsichord]. She asked, if she played well? I said, Reasonably for a Queen. That same day, after dinner, my Lord of Hunsdean drew me up to a quiet gallery, that I might hear some musick; [and] but he said he durst not avow it, where I might hear the Queen play upon the virginals. After I had hearkened awhile, I took by the tapistry that hung before the door of the chamber; and seeing her back was towards the door, I entered within the chamber, and stood a pretty space, hearing her play excellently well. But she left off immediately, as soon as she turned her about and saw me. She appeared to be surprized to see me, and came forward, seeming to strike me with her hand; alledging she used not to play before men, but when she was solitary, to shun melancholy. She asked, how I came there? I answered, as I was walking with my Lord of Hunsdean, as we past by the chamber-door, I heard such melody as ravished me; whereby I was drawn in ere I knew how: excusing my fault of homeliness [familiarity], as being brought up in the Court of France, where such freedom was allowed," the French easiness of manners being then as eminent as it has since been; "declaring myself willing to endure, what kind of punishment her Majesty should be pleased to inflict upon me, for so great an offence. Then she sate down low upon a cushion, and I upon my knees by her; but with her own hand she gave me a cushion to lay under my knee, which at first I refused, but she compelled me to take it. She then called for my Lady Strafford out of the next chamber, for the Queen was alone. She inquired, whether my Queen or she played best? In that, I found myself obliged to give her the praise." And such a confession as

this, at once shows us the superiority of Elizabeth to Mary in musical performances, and confirms, by its impartiality, all the notices concerning Elizabeth before.

"—Here I took occasion to press earnestly my dispatch: she said, I was weary sooner of her company, then she was of mine. I told her Majesty, that though I had no reason of being weary, I knew my mistress her affairs called me home. Yet I was stayed two days longer, till I might see her dance; as I was afterward informed. Which being done, she inquired of me, whether she or my Queen danced best? I answered, the Queen danced not so high and disposedly, as she did." And this, being another compliment paid Elizabeth in preference to Mary, again serves to confirm the general justness of this embassadour's animadversions upon Elizabeth*.

But the affectation and the hypocrisy of vanity in Elizabeth, here come forward in a prominent manner to the laughing eye of criticism. Just in the same spirit, and nearly with the same colouring, has Lady Shrewsbury sketched her out in the letter above. There we recognize the Elizabeth of Melvill immediately. There we find, that she, who so wildly imagined herself more handsome and more graceful than even Mary herself, "was as vain, and has as good an opinion of her beauty, as if she were some goddess of the sky." She also, who so grossly extorted flatteries from Melvill at one time, and so freely arrogated them to herself at another, "took so great pleasure in flatteries beyond all reason; that it had been said to her expressly, that there was no venturing at times to

* Melvill, 49-51.

look full upon her, because her face shone like the sun;" and that all the "ladies of the court, were constrained to use this language" towards her. And, as Melvill was obviously stifling a violent laugh, all the time he was obliged to flatter her; so Lady Shrewsbury and Lady Lenox, while the former was speaking to her, "durst not look the one at the other, for fear of bursting out into a laugh, at the flams which she was putting upon the Queen*."

* Thus, in 1562, the rebel and Protestant Prince of Condé, in France, to put her in good-humour after he had attempted to make a peace without her, requested she would "sende him a skarfe of her coullers, which he taketh to be black and white, to weare in this Gode's quarrell and hers,—and to impute him as her souldiour, which he will never fayle to be during his lief." This he did "very importunately." (*Forbes*, ii. 234).—"Even when Elizabeth was an old woman," says Mr. Hume (v. 287), "she allowed her courtiers to flatter her, with regard to her excellent beauties." (*Birch*, vol. ii. p. 442, 443).—And we have a very lively instance of this, in another state paper of the time. Sir Henry Unton, the Queen's embassadour in France, writes home, in a letter of February 1595-6, thus: On the French King's shewing the picture of his mistress, he answered, he says—"If without offence I might speake it, that I had the picture of a far more excellent mistress; and yet did her picture come far short of her perfection of beauty. He beheald it with passion and admiration, saying that I had reason;—protesting that he had never seene the like," &c. &c. (*Murdin*, 718).—This ridiculous account was sent, in order to flatter Elizabeth. She was then in her sixty-third year. Even five years afterward, the famous Edward Coke, acting as her attorney-general at the trial of Essex, in 1601, said, that he and his partisans "went rather into the city than to the court, in regard the lustre of the Divine Majesty glistered so brightly in the Royal Majesty, and did so dazzle their eyes, that they durst approach no nearer." (*Camden*, Trans. 614; Orig. ii. 230).—Yet Elizabeth felt not the palpable imposition put upon her, by her own rage for flattery, and by the obsequiousness of those whom she compelled to gratify it. She swallowed all the praise that was offered by them, however ample it might be, as due to her charms, and as demanded by her sovereignty. Dr. Stuart therefore cries out against her, with an energy of style which is very striking—that, "even when palsied with age, she was vain of her haggard and cadaverous form," and "sought to allure to her many loverts" (ii. 211). And "the affront,"

But let us pass from what was merely ridiculous in Elizabeth, to what was harsh and violent in her private conduct. She was the petty tyrant of her palace. She was peculiarly prompt, with a more than masculine daringness, to lift her hand in injuries, and to beat and box her courtiers. We have already beheld her advancing up to Melvill, as "seeming to strike him with her hand." This threatening posture of offence, indeed, was merely jocular in that instance. But it serves to show the mechanical readiness of her hand, to rise at a sense of impropriety, and to resent it by a blow upon the transgressor. Thus, even so late as 1598, and when she was now sixty-five, she presumed to box her favourite Essex. "Quite forgetting himself (says Camden), and neglecting his duty, he uncivily turned his back upon her, as it were in contempt; and gave her a scornfull look. She, not enduring such behaviour, gave him a box in the ear, and bade him get him gone and be hanged. He presently laid his hand on his sword; and the Lord Admirall stepping between, he sware a great oath, that he neither could nor would put up so great an affront and indignity; neither would he have taken it at King Henry the Eighth his hands; and, in a great passion, withdrew himself presently from the court*." This experienced practiser in the school of boxing, therefore, who ventured to exercise the powers of her hand upon

says Camden concerning Essex, in 1601, "he did her, in undervaluing her personal shape, inflamed her most of all: for he had given out (to mention nothing else), that, being now an old woman, she was no less crooked and distorted in mind than she was in body." (Trans. 605; Orig. ii. 219). This also shews Elizabeth to have become "crooked and distorted" in body, at the latter end of her life.

* Camden, Trans. 556; Orig. ii. 161.

so cholerick a soldier, may well be expected to be found beating the gentlemen and ladies of her household. She accordingly appears in the letter above, many years before, to have given Henry Killigrew, a gentleman sent on occasional embassies by her*, "a box on the ear, because he had not brought back" a person, "whom she had sent him to recall." But she appears treating Miss Scudamore with a larger share of this brutishness; "one of whose fingers" she actually "broke," and then, with a meanness equal to her mischievousness, "made those of the court believe, that it was broken by a chandelier falling down from above." She even mounted, at another time, beyond all this sublimity of domestick savageness. She found a weapon, that would be more powerful than her naked hand. "She gave another lady, as she was waiting upon her at table, a great blow with a knife upon her hand." And, as such a conduct was sure to make a peculiar impression upon the ladies in Mary's service, since they were equally retained in attendance upon a Queen, and were treated so very differently by theirs; so "because of these points, and common reports" of other incidents similar to them, Elizabeth was even "acted and represented by the women" of Mary's household, "as in a comedy" of the Ferocious Mistress, sportively exhibited "among themselves†."

But we must now come, to what is the great object of this chapter. We must proceed to the immodesty of Elizabeth. And the vain, the violent Queen must

* Camden, Trans. 82 and 195; and Orig. i. 103 and 238.

† Elizabeth's "passionate temper," says Mr. Hume, v. 288, "may also be proved from many lively instances; and it was not unusual with her, to beat her maids of honour."—See the *Sydney Papers*, vol. ii. p. 38.

appear in all the loose garb of a wanton woman. Her vanity and her violence appear still conspicuous, even in her very wantonness.

Elizabeth*, says Lady Shrewsbury, "undoubtedly was not as other women are; and for this reason, it was folly in all those who favoured her marriage with Monsieur the Duke of Anjou, because it could never be consummated." The people, says Camden, under 1566, when they were earnest for Elizabeth's marriage, "cursed Huic, the Queen's physician, as a disswader of her marriage, for I know not what womanish impo-

* It has been insinuated by both Mr. Hume (v. 287), and Dr. Stuart (ii. 211), that Haynes (99), affords but too good reasons for suspecting the chastity of Elizabeth, some years before she ascended the throne, and when she was only 17 or 18 years of age. However, I must here vindicate her. The main stress of the evidence appealed to against her, lies in this. "She," Lady Elizabeth's woman, "saith; at Chelsy, incontinent after he," Lord Admiral Seymour, "was maried to the Queene," relict of Henry the VIIIth, "he wold come many mornyngs into the said Lady Elizabeth's chamber," which was in his own house at Chelsea (p. 61), "before she were redy, and sometyme before she did rise. And, if she were up, he wold bid hir good morrow, and ax how she did, and strike her upon the bak or on the buttocks famylearly, and so go forth through [to] his lodgings; and sometyme go through to the maydens, and play with them, and so go forth: and, if she were in hir bed, he wold put open the curteyns, and bid hir good morrow, and make as though he wold come at hir; and she wold go further in the bed, so that he could not come at hir. And one mornyng he strove to have kissed hir in hir bed: and this examinate was there, and bad him go away for shame." This surely can justify no suspicion of Elizabeth. Her woman was plainly with her all these times, or she could not have deposed to all these facts. At one other time, when Elizabeth heard the Admiral coming towards her bed-room, she ran out of bed, hurried into the inner room where her attendants slept, and stayed there till he was gone. And we know too much of the free conversation of gentlemen to ladies then, as exhibited by time's best copyist, Shakespeare; and see too much of their free manners in that age, as transmitted down to the present, at a distance from London, and in the middle orders of life; to suppose the women unchaste, merely because the men were romping.

tency*." "The perils" also, as he adds under 1581, "by conception and child-bearing, objected" to Elizabeth "by the physicians and her gentlewomen, for some private reasons, did many times run in her mind, and very much deter her from thoughts of marrying†." And Elizabeth had some obstructions from nature, which disabled her for the offices of a wife, precluded her from the pleasures of a prostitute, and, contending with her strong desires, raised such a ferment and fire within her, as she was ever endeavouring, and never able, to extinguish.

Thus she had "one" man, "to whom" (Lady Shrewsbury says) "Elizabeth had made a promise of marriage, before a lady of her bed-chamber;" and who "had lain down infinite times with her, with all the freedom and familiarity that can be used betwixt a husband and wife." This person is afterwards called "one of this realm." It is Leicester, no doubt; whose name was studiously suppressed by the Countess, because Leicester had been intriguing to draw her off from her warm attachment to Mary, for some infamous purposes undoubtedly; by holding up to the eye of her ambition an object more alluring, than any which Mary could present; and making her hope for royalty itself, in her grand-daughter Arabella Stuart. "Him," says Melvill before, "I knew at that time Elizabeth could not want," or do without. His whole court-life indeed was spent,

* Camden, Trans. 83; Orig. i. 104, "ob nescio quam muliebrem, impotentiam."

† Camden, Trans. 269; Orig. i. 324, "pericula ex conceptione et puerperio, a medicis et mulierculis ex abditis causis objecta, quæ sæpé animo obversabantur, admodum deterruerunt." This shews the bodily infirmity of Elizabeth, to be very different from what it is represented by foreign writers. Our own have almost unanimously neglected to notice it.

in claiming and challenging (as it were) the marriage of Elizabeth; for which he is asserted by the present tradition at Cumnor near Oxford, to have dreadfully qualified himself at first, by throwing his wife down a pair of stairs there, and breaking her neck with the fall*. We see him expecting the marriage in 1564. We see him still expecting it in 1579. Yet, under the influence of some temporary despair undoubtedly, we find him marrying the widowed Countess of Essex in the interval. But he had still so much hope remaining in his despair, that he carefully kept his marriage a secret to Elizabeth; and his hope so overpowered his despair soon, that he still prosecuted his matrimonial views upon her. He meant probably to make way for them again, at the critical moment, by another murder of his wife. Nor did he lose the peculiar favour of the Queen, even to his death. In 1564, as Camden informs us, Queen Mary, to whom Elizabeth had recommended a marriage with him, "suspected that she was deceitfully dealt withall, and that Queen Elizabeth propounded this marriage to no other purpose, but to chuse for herself the best of all the suitors" to Mary; "or else to marry with Leicester the more excusably, if she, being an absolute Queen, did first consent to the marriage of Leicester —: and Leicester himself, in hopes of enjoying Queen Elizabeth, secretly warned Bedford by private letters, that he should not be eager in the matter†." In 1579, when a foreign application for marriage was received very favourably by Elizabeth,

* See also Carte, iii. 416, who also speaks of this tradition, and with some more particularity; as during one part of his life, I think, he resided in the immediate neighbourhood of Cumnor. And see Aubrey's Berkshire, i. 149, still more particularly.

† Trans. 75; Orig. i. 94.

"Leicester chafed," says Camden, though he had been actually married some time to the Countess of Essex, "being now quite frustrate of his long hoped-for marriage" with Elizabeth*. And at his death in 1588, which "the Queen took much to heart," as Camden adds; "by reason of a certain conjunction and affinity of their minds, and that haply through a hidden conspiracy and consent of their stars, which the Greek astrologers term synastria, he was most dear" to her†. Indeed "he was" then "master of the horse, chosen into the orders of St. George and St. Michael, of the Queen's privy council, lord steward of her houshold, chancellour of the university of Oxford, justicer of the forests on this side the river of Trent, lieutenant and captain-general of the English forces in the Low-Countries, governour and captain-general of the United Provinces in the Netherlands, and this year general of the English army against the Spaniards. And now, in the very period of his life [he] began to entertain new hope of honour and power, by being put into the high authority of lieutenancy under the Queen in the government of England and Ireland; which indeed he had obtained, the letters patents being drawn, had not," &c.‡

But Leicester was not the sole possessor of Elizabeth. He was obliged to share her favours with others. At the very time of the letter above, he had "Haton"

---

* Trans. 227; Orig. i. 276. For this marriage to Lady Essex, see Trans. 217-218, and 232; Orig. i. 264-265, and 282.

† This, from no design in the virtuous author, but from the popular credulity in astrological impertinences, is reducible to that loose strain of dramatick morality, which says that,

——— When weak women go astray,
Their stars are more in fault than they.

‡ Trans. 419; Orig. i. 496.

for his colleague. This was Sir Christopher Hatton, of whom Camden speaks thus: "Being young (he says), and of a comely talness of body, and amiable countenance, he got into such favour with the Queen, that she took him into her band of 50 gentlemen pensioners, and afterwards, for his modest sweetness of conditions, into the number of the gentlemen of her privy chamber; made him captain of her guard, vice-chamberlain, and one of her privy council; and lastly, made him lord chancellour." He, as Camden equally remarks in another place, and under 1587, "a man in great favour with the Queen, of a courtier was made lord chancellour; which the great lawyers of England took very great distaste at —:" while, in reality, "Hatton was advanced to the dignity, by the cunning court-arts of some," Leicester probably; "that by his absence from court, and the troublesome discharge of so great a place, which they thought him not to be able to undergo, his favour with the Queen might flag and grow less*." But Lady Shrewsbury shows us plainly the secret reason, that impelled Elizabeth in all his promotions; that fixed him "in such great favour with the Queen," and raised such an envy in some very powerful courtier against him, as oddly conspired with the favour, "of a courtier" to make him a "chancellour." "His comely talness of body," and his "amiable countenance," won so much upon the lewd heart of his mistress; that she "took him into the band of her—gentlemen pensioners," for particular services, and kept him always as one "of the gentlemen of her privy chamber." Indeed he seems for a time at least, to have out-rivalled Leicester himself, and to have been

* Orig. ii. 43, and i. 475; Trans. 458, and 401.

the captain of her band, and the first of her gentlemen. Elizabeth was even so fond of him, that she "ran him down by violence;" at one time "making the love which she bore him appear so publick, that he" himself, "from his modest sweetness of conditions" undoubtedly, "was constrained to retire from her." Yet at another time he was so proud of her favour, and so happy in her generosity, that he ornamented his fine person with a set of buttons upon his clothes, all of solid gold. With these he appeared at court. Elizabeth saw her own profusion probably, in his extravagance. She was angry with him. She showed her anger, in her usual effusions of reproachful language. He departed in wrath. Elizabeth instantly repented of what she had done. Her anger melted away in her fondness. And she betrayed her weakness very strikingly, in her condescension at first, and in her violence afterwards. She sent Killigrew after him, to fetch him back. But he knew his consequence too well, to return. Killigrew came back without him. And she was so unhinged by the shock of this incident, that she actually gave Killigrew a box on the ear, for the involuntary offence. Such a violently doting old maid of forty-five, was Elizabeth then! Yet she was still more so, soon afterwards. Hatton appears to have withdrawn himself from court, for a period. But at last he thought proper to return. And Elizabeth evidenced the sharpness of her grief for his absence, by the greatness of her liberality on his return. She was so overjoyed at the news, that she gave Sir Thomas Gorge, who brought it to her, three hundred pounds a year in penny-rents. So readily could she break through all her habits of frugality, when an amour was on foot! So profuse and prodigal could she then be! Indeed, says Lady Shrews-

bury, "she was profuse to all such persons" as were her gallants; "and" even to "those who meddled in such practises," by carrying messages, and bringing news concerning them. But "to all others she was ungrateful and niggardly." And "there were but three or four persons in her realm," of a different character; "to whom she had ever been bountiful," so late as the year 1584*.

But Elizabeth "would not be content with Master Hatton, and one other of this realm." Two gallants were not sufficient for such a lady. She had a third. This was Sir Walter Raleigh. Lady Shrewsbury, indeed, omits him. Yet she hints at more than she specifies; in declaring, that Elizabeth "would not ever give up the liberty of bespeaking love, and of having her pleasure continually with new lovers;" and in noticing her profuseness "to all such persons." But Sir Walter plainly confesses himself a paramour to her, in this high-flown letter of love concerning her. "My heart was never broken," he says, "till this day, that I hear the Queen goes away so far off; whom I have followed so many years, with so great love and desire, in so many journeys, and am now left behind her in a dark prison all alone." This letter is not dated in itself, yet is dated by the publisher in "July 1592." But he is clearly mistaken. The circumstance of the prison, shows him to be so. It should be dated

* "The Queen first took notice of him," Hatton, "for the comeliness of his person, and his graceful dancing at a mask at court.—So exact was Queen Elizabeth, that she called upon him for an old debt, though it broke his heart; so loving, that she carried him a cordial-broath with her own hand, though it could not revive him" (*English Baronettage*, ii. 183 and 185, edit. 1741). This conduct in Elizabeth then, is very much like her behaviour before, in consequence of the gold buttons.

in 1594. Then, as Camden assures us, "Sir Walter Raleigh, captain of the Queen's guard, having defloured one of the Queen's maids of honour (whom he after took to wife), and being therefore thrown out of favour, and kept several months in prison, but now at length set at liberty, though banished the court; undertook a voyage to Guiana, and set sail on the 6th of February," 1594-5*. From this prison then, and in that year, on some removal of the court from London, Raleigh adds in all that extravagance of adulation, which, Lady Shrewsbury tells us, was obliged to be used to Elizabeth, and which is even heightened in him, by his late relation as a paramour to her. "While she was nire [nigher] at hand," he says, "that I might hear of her once in two or three dayes, my sorrows were the less: but, even now, my heart is cast into the depth of all misery. I, that was wont to behold her riding like Alexander, hunting like Diana, walking like Venus, the gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure cheeks, like a nymph; sometime sitting in the shade like a goddess, sometime singing like an angell, sometime playing like Orpheus:" when this nymph, this angel, this goddess, this Venus, and this Diana, was now about—sixty-one years of age. "Behold the sorrow of this world! Once amiss, hath bereaved me of all.—All those times past, the loves, the sythes [sighs], the sorrows, the desires, can they not way [weigh] down one frail misfortune? Cannot one dropp of gall be hidden in so great heaps of sweetness?—She is gone, in whom I trusted; and of me hath not one thought of mercy, nor any respect of that that was†." So very

* Orig. ii. 93-94; Trans. 499-450.

† Murdin, 657.

obdurate was Elizabeth to Raleigh, for "deflouring one of her maids of honour!" So sternly severe was this Diana of Britain, against the infirmities of the flesh,—in her own gallants towards others! That he should ever stray from his royal goddess, and take up with one of the "*Deæ minorum gentium*" about her footstool; might well provoke the humours of this Juno and Venus in one, this imperious goddess of old age and wrinkles. And Raleigh is expressly mentioned in another letter of the times, no less than eight years antecedent to this, and in the life-time of Leicester and Hatton, as a well-known gallant of Elizabeth's. "Eyther Rawley," says Morgan, that active and knowing agent of Mary's, on March 31st, 1586, "the mignon [minion] of her of England, is wearye of her, or else she is wearye of him." Raleigh, therefore, had been minion to her many years, at this period; and had been long "tasting her sweet body," in a friendly partnership with Hatton and Leicester. "For I here she hath now entertayned one Blont, brother of the Lord Montjoye; being a yonge gentleman, whose grandmother she may be for her age and his*."

But Morgan knew not Elizabeth sufficiently; when he supposed she must have discarded Raleigh, because he heard she had taken in Blount. She had not even that virtue of viciousness itself, to be confined to one person in her licentious regards. She took in a new paramour. Yet she did not cast off the old. She continued both in her service. She thus kept a kind of male seraglio, that was continually receiving additions, and seldom suffered any diminutions. And she became

* Murdin, 501.

as great a latitudinarian in her practises of lewdness, as she was in her principles of dishonour*.

In 1578, according to Camden, "came Simier" to Elizabeth "from the Duke of Anjou," to make a marriage between them; "a choice courtier, a man thoroughly versed in love fancies, pleasant conceits, and court-dalliances; accompanied with many of the nobility of France: whom the Queen entertained at Richmond so kindly, that Leicester chafed, being now quite frustrate of his long hoped-for marriage†." But, as Camden adds under the next year, "Simier on the other side left no means un-assayed, to remove Leicester out of his place and favour with the Queen; revealing to her his marriage with Essex his widow: whereat the Queen grew into such a chafe, that she commanded Leicester not to stir out of the castle of Greenwich, and intended to have committed him to the Tower of London." This is very similar to her conduct towards Raleigh before. And the Earl of Oxford, as we see in Mary's letter, "durst not re-accord with his wife, for fear of losing the favour which he hoped to receive, by making love to Elizabeth." Simier, as Camden also tells us, "ceased not amorously to wooe Queen Elizabeth, in Anjou's behalf; and although she stiffly excused herself a long time, yet he brought her to that pass, that Leicester (who from his heart was against the marriage) and others," probably Hatton,

* The Blounts particularly seem to have had a large share in the Queen's favours. We have here a brother to Lord Montjoy mentioned. Mr. Hume, v. 287, mentions Lord Montjoy himself. And Camden says of Sir Christopher Blunt, that one "Waite— had been formerly sent into Holland by Leicester, who was jealous of Blunt, to kill him."—*Trans.* 610; *Orig.* ii. 225; *Orig.* i. 276; *Trans.* 227.

† Orig. i.

Raleigh, Oxford, &c. "spread rumours abroad, that by love-potions and unlawfull arts, he had insinuated into the Queen's affection, and induced her to the love of Anjou*." Elizabeth, therefore, was so openly fond of him, that "Leicester and others" were impelled to think,

> That with some mixtures powerful o'er the blood,
> Or with some dram conjur'd to this effect,
> He wrought upon her.

But Lady Shrewsbury enables us to declare, in concurrence with the hint of amorousness from Camden before,

> ——What drugs, what charms,
> What conjuration, and what mighty magick,
> He won her with.

"For the honour of the country (she says), she was most grieved, that Elizabeth not only had pawned her honour with a stranger of the name of Simier, going to find him by night in the chamber of a lady; where Elizabeth kissed him, and used divers dishonest familiarities with him; but also revealed the secrets of the realm, betraying to him her own counsellers."

> This only is the witchcraft he had us'd.

And this witchcraft was very powerful, in its influence upon Elizabeth. She not merely "pawned her honour," which indeed she had pawned so often to these brokers in impurity before, that it was hardly worth the redeeming now; but she "revealed the secrets of the realm to him," and the cold-blooded politician dissolved away in the warm fires of the licentious lover.

Simier was thus anticipating his master the Duke, in the possession of Elizabeth's person. In 1581, how-

* Orig. i. 282; Trans. 232-233.

ever, the Duke came to London himself, to supersede Simier's too "amorous" solicitations for him, and to urge his addresses in his own person. Yet he urged them—exactly in Simier's manner. It was the only manner probably, for winning Elizabeth. When he came to her, says Camden, "he was received with as great respect, as he could hope for; and no demonstration could there be given of honour and affection, which she did not shew him to the full. Insomuch as in the month of November, as soon as she had with great pomp celebrated her coronation-day, the force of modest love, in the midst of amorous discourse, carried her so far, that she drew off a ring from her finger, and put it upon the Duke of Anjou's;" he being then twenty-six, and she forty-eight. "The standers-by took it, that the marriage was now contracted by promise: amongst whom Aldegond, governour of the city of Antwerp, dispatched letters presently away into the Netherlands" ["the Duke" being "now designed governour of the Netherlands by the Estates"], "to signifie as much; and Antwerp testified her publick joy thereat, by bonefires and peals of ordnance. At home, the courtiers' minds were diversly affected: some leaped for joy, some were seized with admiration, and others were dejected with sorrow. Leicester," her prime gallant, "who had lately plotted and contrived to cross the marriage; Hatton, vice-chamberlain," another gallant of hers; "and Walsingham," a man, as we have seen before, who trafficked in murder, "stormed at it, as if the Queen, the realm, and religion were now quite undone. The Queen's gentlewomen, with whom she used to be familiar, lamented and bewailed, and did so terrifie and vex her mind, that she spent the night in doubts

and cares without sleep, amongst those weeping and wailing females. The next day she sent for the Duke of Anjou; and they two, all by-standers being removed, had a long discourse together. He at length withdrew himself to his chamber; and throwing the ring from him, a while after took it again; taxing the lightness of women, and the inconstancy of islanders, with two or three biting and smart scoffs*." This very day of the espousal, and while the spirits of Anjou and Elizabeth were yet elated by it; then was it, no doubt, as Lady Shrewsbury tells us in great coincidence with Camden here, that Anjou went "to find Elizabeth by night at the door of her bed-chamber, where Elizabeth met him with only her shift and bed-gown on; and that afterwards she suffered him to enter; and that he stayed with her nearly three hours." He then retired; her lamenting gentlewomen came about her, and the Queen passed the rest of the night "in doubts and cares without sleep, amidst those weeping and wailing females." But most probably she had a more secret cause of grief than they; and indeed

Had that within which passed show.

She was grieving probably at her disappointment, in her young and lusty lover, whom she had just dismissed from her bed-room. The French paramour was no more available, than the English had been before; or the Duke than Simier. The virgin zone was not unloosed still. The "womanish impotency" was still un-removed. And, for this reason probably, did she

* Orig. i. 323; Trans. 267-268. See also Orig. i. 229; Trans. 188, for Anjou's age. He left England in the beginning of 1582, and died in 1584, after Mary had been taken from Lord Shrewsbury, (Orig. i. 329 and 365; Trans. 373 and 304).

remain sleepless all the night; did she send for Anjou in the morning, and did she then break off the contracted marriage with him. In cases of a complicated nature, there is generally some secret principle, that actuates and directs the whole; while an ostensible principle is held up, to conceal and cover the other. This therefore is known to all, while that is perceived only by few. This wildly forms the historical faith of the multitude, who are unable to look into characters, to combine circumstances together, and to judge from the result of all; while that collects the scattered rays of truth by a kind of critical catoptrick, sees them successively combining into one regular mass of light, and feels them finally co-operating to produce one full blaze of conviction. And Lady Shrewsbury accordingly declares in express terms, that it was "folly in all those who favoured Elizabeth's marriage with Monsieur the Duke of Anjou, because it could never be consummated *."

Such an immodest, licentious, and dissolute woman was Elizabeth! Such was the Queen, that wished to have it engraven upon her tomb, "Here lieth Eliza-

* Mr. Hume observes concerning this part of Elizabeth's character, that "her extreme fondness for Leicester, Hatton, and Essex, not to mention Mountjoy and others, render her chastity very suspicious" (v. 287). At my Lord's [Essex's] coming to "court" from his French expedition, for his conduct in which Elizabeth had censured and recalled him, "whereas he expected nothing but her Majestie's heavy displeasure; he found it cleane contrary: for she used him with that grace and favour, that he stayed a week with her, passing the time in jollity and feasting; and then with tears in her eyes she shewed her affection to him, and, for the repaire of his honour, gave him leave to returne to his charge againe." (*Memoirs of Cary Earl of Monmouth*, 39-40).—And Dr. Stuart tells us more generally and more justly, that, "even when palsied with age, she was burning with unquenchable desires" (ii. 211).

beth, which reigned a virgin, and died a virgin!" Such also was the Queen, who some years afterwards declared, that she was "determined to end her life in virginity;" whom the publick voice hailed at the time, as "the fair vestal throned by the West," and "the imperial votress" of chastity; whom the consenting testimonies of two ages, have pronounced the Maiden Queen of Protestantism; and who had the hypocritical audacity, to censure a Mary for being—what she was herself, what Mary was not, and what she herself was in all the foulest extremes of the character. And, at the close, I cannot but observe with equal indignation and sorrow, That Elizabeth seems to have been in all her capacities of wickedness, a woman exceedingly wicked; to have united equally the sensual and the malignant corruptions of mankind, in her own person; to have had them both, in a very violent degree; to have superadded the highest degree of hypocrisy, to both; and so to have been a very prodigy of flagitiousness, from all.

What is most singular in the conduct and character of Elizabeth is, that though she determined never to have any heir of her own body, she was not only very averse to fix any successor to the crown, but seems also to have resolved, as far as it lay in her power, that no one who had pretensions to the succession, should ever have any heirs or successors. If the exclusion given by the will of Henry VIII. to the posterity of Margaret Queen of Scotland, was allowed to be valid, the right to the crown devolved on the House of Suffolk; and the Lady Catherine Gray, younger sister to the Lady Jane, was now the heiress of that family. This lady had been married to Lord Herbert, son of the Earl of Pembroke; but having been di-

vorced from that nobleman, she made a private marriage with the Earl of Hertford, son of the Protector; and her husband, soon after consummation, travelled into France. In a little time she appeared to be pregnant, which so enraged Elizabeth, that she threw her into the Tower, and summoned Hertford to appear, in order to answer for his misdemeanour. He made no scruple of acknowledging the marriage, which, though concluded without the Queen's consent, was entirely suitable to both parties; and for this offence he was also committed to the Tower. Elizabeth's severity stopped not here; she issued a commission to enquire into the matter; and as Hertford could not, within the time limited, prove the nuptials by witnesses, the commerce between him and his consort was declared unlawful, and their posterity illegitimate. They were still detained in custody; but, by bribing their keepers, they found means to have farther intercourse; and another child appeared to be the fruit of their commerce. This was a fresh source of vexation to the Queen; who made a fine of 15,000*l.* to be set on Hertford by the star-chamber, and ordered his confinement to be thenceforth more rigid and severe. He lay in this condition for nine years, till the death of his wife, by freeing Elizabeth from all fears, procured him his liberty. This extreme severity must be accounted for, either by the unrelenting jealousy of the Queen, who was afraid lest a pretender to the succession should acquire credit by having issue; or by her malignity, which, with all her qualities, made one ingredient in her character, and which led her to envy, in others, those natural pleasures of love and posterity, of which her own ambition and desire of dominion, made her renounce all prospect for herself.

Elizabeth entered anew into negotiations for espousing the Arch-duke Charles; and she seems, at this time, to have had no great motive of policy, which might induce her to make this fallacious offer: but as she was very rigorous in the terms insisted on, and would not agree that the Archduke, if he espoused her, should enjoy any power or title in England, and even refused him the exercise of his religion, the treaty came to nothing; and that Prince, despairing of success in his addresses, married the daughter of Albert Duke of Bavaria.

When Nowel, one of her chaplains, had spoken less reverently in a sermon, preached before her, of the sign of the cross, she called aloud to him from her closet window, commanding him to retire from that ungodly digression, and to return unto his text. And on the other side, when one of her divines had preached a sermon in defence of the real presence, she openly gave him thanks for his pains and piety.—*Heylin*, p. 124. She absolutely would have forbidden the marriage of the clergy, if Cecil had not interposed.—*Strype's Life of Parker*, p. 107-109. She was an enemy to sermons, and usually said, that she thought two or three preachers were sufficient for a whole county. It was probably for these reasons, that one Doring told her to her face from the pulpit, that she was like an untamed heifer, that would not be ruled by God's people, but obstructed his discipline.—See *Life of Hooker*, prefixed to his Works.

By Murdin's State Papers it appears, that an agreement had been made between Elizabeth and the Regent, for the delivering up of Mary to him. The Queen afterward sent down Killigrew to the Earl of Marre, when Regent, offering to put Mary into his hands.

Killigrew was instructed to take good security from the Regent, that that Queen should be tried for her crimes, and that the sentence should be executed upon her. It appears that Marre rejected the offer, because we hear no more of it.

CHAP. XVIII.

Most Affecting Letter from Mary to Elizabeth, intended for Posterity—Mary Appeals to God, and reviews Elizabeth's Breach of Faith, and Cruelty.

"MADAM,

"UPON that which has come to my knowledge, of the last conspiracies executed in Scotland against my poor child, having reason to fear the consequence of it, from the example of myself; I must employ the very small remainder of my life and strength, before my death, to discharge my heart to you fully of my just and melancholy complaints; of which I desire that this letter may serve you, as long as you live after me, for a perpetual testimony and engraving upon your conscience; as much for my discharge to posterity, as to the shame and confusion of all those, who, under your approbation, have so cruelly and unworthily treated me to this time, and reduced me to the extremity in which I am*. But as their designs, prac-

* This strongly marks the propriety of publishing the present letter. It appears here to have been intended by Mary, for an appeal to the judgment of posterity, as well as to the conscience of Elizabeth. To this it called in vain. But with that, I doubt not, it has had, and will have, a very powerful influence.—Camden has the first clause thus, "*cùm certò acceperim*," and another thus, "*easdem in tuâ (si fieri posset) conscientiâ insculpere*;" and omits all concerning her expected death.

tices, actions, and proceedings, though as detestable as they could have been, have always prevailed with you against my very just remonstrances and sincere deportment; and as the power, which you have in your hands, has always been a reason for you among mankind, I will have recourse to the living God, our only judge, who has established us equally and immediately under him, for the government of his people.

"I will invoke him to the end of this my very pressing affliction, that he will return to you and to me (as he will do in his last judgment) the share of our merits and demerits one towards the other. And remember, Madam, that to him we shall not be able to disguise any thing, by the paint and policy of the world; though mine enemies, under you, have been able, for a time, to cover their subtle inventions to men, perhaps to you.

"In his name, and as before him sitting between you and me, I will remind you, that by the agents, spies, and secret messengers, sent in your name into Scotland, while I was there, my subjects were corrupted, and encouraged to rebel against me, to make attempts upon my person, and, in one word, to speak, do enterprize, and execute that, which has come to the said country during my troubles. Of which I will not at present specify other proof, than that which I have gained of it by the confession of one, who was afterwards amongst those that were most advanced for this good service, and of the witnesses confronted with him. To whom if I had since done justice, he had not afterwards, by his antient intelligences, renewed the same practices against my son; and had not procured for all my traitourous and rebellious subjects, who took refuge with you, that aid and support which

they have had, even since my detention on this side; without which support, I think, the said traitours could not since have prevailed, nor afterwards have stood out so long, as they have done.

"During my imprisonment at Lochlevin, the late Trogmarton [Throgmorton] counselled me on your behalf, to sign that demission which he advertised me would be presented to me; assuring me, that it could not be valid. And there was not afterwards a place in Christendom, where it was held for valid, or maintained, except on this side; [where it was maintained] even to having assisted with open force the authors of it. In your conscience, Madam, would you acknowledge an equal liberty and power in your subjects? Notwithstanding this, my authority has been by my subjects transferred to my son, when he was not capable of exercising it. And since I was willing to assure it lawfully to him, he being of age to be assisted to his own advantage, it is suddenly ravished from him, and assigned over to two or three traitours; who having taken from him the effectiveness of it, will take from him, as they have from me, both the name and the title of it, if he contradicts them in the manner he may, and perhaps his life, if God does not provide for his preservation.

"When I was escaped from Lochlevin, ready to give battle to my rebels, I remitted to you by a gentleman express a diamond jewel, which I had formerly received as a token from you, and with assurance to be succoured by you against my rebels; and even that, on my retiring towards you, you would come to the very frontiers in order to assist me; which had been confirmed to me by divers messengers*.

* Elizabeth appears from this, to have early formed the design of drawing Mary into England, under pretence of assisting her, and in order to

"This promise coming, and repeatedly, from your mouth (though I had found myself often abused by your ministers), made me place such affiance on the effectiveness of it; that, when my army was routed, I came directly to throw myself into your arms, if I had been able to approach them. But while I was planning to set out and find you, there was I arrested on my way, surrounded with guards, secured in strong places, and at last reduced, all shame set aside, to the captivity in which I remain to this day, after a thousand deaths which I have already suffered from it.

"I know, that you will alledge to me what passed between the late Duke of Norfolk and me. I maintain, that there was nothing in this to your prejudice, or against the publick good of this realm; and that the treaty was sanctioned with the advice and signatures of the first persons who were then of your council, under the assurance of making it appear good to you.

"How could such personages have undertaken the enterprize, of making you consent to a point, which should deprive you of life, of honour, and your crown;

---

seize, insult, and imprison her. This scheme she carried on, being all the while in league with Murray, and intending to serve his and her purposes by it; in a train of such hypocritical professions of friendship, as must shock even a profligate child of the world to think of. She sent Mary a diamond jewel, as a solemn token of her avowed friendship, and as an express testimony of her promised assistance. She even assured Mary, that on hearing she was obliged to retire before her rebels towards England, she would come to the very frontiers of England, to meet and receive her. This she repeatedly confirmed afterwards, by messengers to her. And, after all, how did she behave? This familiar toad at the ear of the innocent and unsuspecting Eve, injecting its poison into her brain, and tempting her to her ruin, then started up at once in its own natural shape, and appeared a very devil by her side.

as you have shown yourself persuaded it would have done, to all the embassadours and others who speak to you concerning me?

"In the mean time my rebels perceiving, that their headlong course was carrying them much farther than they had thought before, and the truth being evidenced concerning the calumnies, that had been propagated of me at the conference, to which I submitted in full assembly of your deputies and mine, with others of the contrary party in that country, in order to clear myself publickly of them; there were the principals, for having come to repentance, besieged by your forces in the castle of Edimbourg, and one of the first among them poisoned, and the other most cruelly hanged; after I had two times made them lay down their arms, at your request, in hopes of an agreement, which God knows whether my enemies aimed at.

"I have been for a long time trying, whether patience could soften the rigour and ill-treatment, which they have begun for these ten years peculiarly to make me suffer. And accommodating myself exactly to the order prescribed me, for my captivity in this house; as well in regard to the number and quality of the attendants which I retain, dismissing the others; as for my diet, and ordinary exercise for my health; I am living even at present as quietly and peaceably, as one much inferiour to myself, and more obliged than with such treatment I was to you, had been able to do; even to deprive myself, in order to take away all shadow of suspicion and diffidence from you, of requiring to have some intelligence with my son and my country, which is what by no right or reason could be denied me, and principally with my child; whom, instead

of this, they endeavoured by every way to persuade against me, in order to weaken us by our division.

"It was permitted me, you will say, to send one to visit him there about three years ago. His captivity then at Sterling under the tyranny of Morton, was the cause of it; as his liberty was afterwards, of a refusal to make the like visit. All this year past, I have several times entered into divers overtures, for the establishment of a good amity between us, and a sure understanding between these two realms in future. To Chatsworth, about ten years ago, commissioners were sent me for that purpose. A treaty has been held upon it with yourself, by my embassadours and those of France. I even myself made concerning it, the last winter, all the advantageous overtures to Beale, that it was possible to make. What return have I had thence? My good intention has been despised, the sincerity of my actions has been neglected and calumniated; the state of my affairs has been traversed by delays, postponings, and other such like artifices. And, in conclusion, a worse and more unworthy treatment from day to day, any thing which I am compelled to do in order to deserve the contrary, my very long, useless, and prejudicial patience, have reduced me so low; that mine enemies, in their habits of using me ill, think this day they have the right of prescription for treating me, not as a prisoner, which in reason I could not be, but as some slave, whose life and whose death depend only upon their tyranny*.

"I cannot, Madam, suffer it any longer; and I

* What heart is there, but must feel very livelily here for the injured Queen!—Camden: "Ante annos undecim."

must in dying discover the authors of my death; or living, attempt under your protection to find an end to the cruelties, calumnies, and traitourous designs of my said enemies, in order to establish me in some little more repose for the remainder of my life. To take away the occasions pretended for all differences between us, clear yourself, if you please, of all which has been reported to you concerning my actions; review the depositions of the strangers taken in Ireland; let those of the Jesuits last executed be represented to you; give liberty to those who would undertake to charge me publickly, and permit me to enter upon my defence: if any evil be found in me, let me suffer it, it shall be patiently when I shall know the occasion of it: if any good, suffer me not to be worse treated for it, with your very great commission before God and man*.

"The vilest criminals that are in your prisons, born under your obedience, are admitted to their justification; and their accusers, and their accusations, are always declared to them. Why then shall not the same order have place, towards me a Sovereign Queen, your nearest relation and lawful heir? I think, that this last circumstance has hitherto been, on the side of my enemies, the principal cause of it, and of all their calumnies, to make their unjust pretensions slide between the two, by keeping us in division. But, alas! they have now little reason and less need, to torment me more upon this account. For I protest to you upon mine honour, that I look this day for no kingdom, but that of my God; whom I see preparing me, for the

* With what a bold air, does innocence here invite and challenge an inquiry into its own actions!—Camden: "Proferantur Hispanorum, qui in Hibernia nuper capti, in me testimonia."

better conclusion of all my afflictions and adversities past*.

"This will be to you [a monition] to discharge your conscience towards my child, as to what belongs to him on this point after my death; and in the mean time not to let prevail to his prejudice, the continual practices and secret conspiracies, which our enemies in this realm are making daily for the advancement of their said pretensions; labouring on the other side with our traitourous subjects in Scotland, by all the means which they can, to hasten his ruin; of which I do not demand other better verification, than the charges given to your last deputies sent into Scotland, and what the said deputies have seditiously practised there, as I believe, without your knowledge, but with good and sufficient solicitation of the Earl my good neighbour at York†.

"And on this point, Madam, by what right can it be maintained, that I, the mother of my child, am totally prohibited, not only from assisting him in the necessity so urgent in which he is, but also from having any intelligence of his state? Who can bring him more carefulness, duty, and sincerity, than I? To whom can he be more near? At the least, if sending to him to provide for his preservation, as the Earl of Shrewsbury made me lately understand that you did, you had pleased to take my advice in the matter; you would have interposed with a better face, as I think, and with more obligingness to me. But consider what you leave me to think, when forgetting so suddenly the offences which you pretended to have taken against

* Camden: "Jam diu cogitâsse."

† She means the Earl of Huntingdon.

my son, at the time I was requesting you that we should send together to him; you have dispatched one to the place where he was a prisoner, not only without giving me advice of it, but debarring me at the very time from all liberty, that by no way whatever I might have any news of him.

"And if the intention of those, who have procured on your part this so prompt a visit of my son, had been for his preservation, and the repose of the country; they needed not to have been so careful in concealing it from me, as a matter in which I should not have been willing to concur with you. By this means they have lost you the good-will, which I should have had for you. And, to talk to you more plainly upon the point; I pray you not to employ there any more such means or such persons. For, although I hold the Lord de Kerri [Cary Lord Hunsdon] too sensible of the rank from which he is sprung, to engage his honour in a villanous act; he has had for an assistant a sworn partisan of the Earl of Huntingdon's, by whose bad offices an action as bad has nearly succeeded to a similar effect. I shall be contented then, only at your not permitting my son to receive any injury from this country (which is all, that I have ever required of you before, even when an army was sent to the borders, to prevent justice from being done to that detestable Morton); and that none of your subjects directly or indirectly intermeddle any more in the affairs of Scotland, unless it is with my knowledge; to whom all cognisance of these things belongs, or with the assistance of some one on the part of the most Christian King, my good brother; whom, as our principal ally, I desire to make privy to the whole of this cause, because of the little credit that he can have with the traitours, who detain my son at present.

"In the mean time I declare with all openness to you, that I hold this last conspiracy and innovation, for pure treason against the life of my son, the good of his affairs, and that of the country; and that while he shall be in the state in which I understand he is, I shall esteem no word, writing, or other act, that comes from him, or is passed under his name, as proceeding from his free and voluntary disposition, but only from the said conspiratours, who, at the price of his life, are making him to serve as a masque to them.

"But, Madam, with all this freedom of speech, which I can foresee will in some sort displease you, though it be the truth itself; you will find it more strange, I assure myself, that I come now to importune you again with a request of much greater importance, and yet very easy for you to grant and realise to me. This is; that having not been able hitherto, by accommodating myself patiently so long a time to the rigourous treatment of this captivity, and carrying myself sincerely in all things, yëa even to the least that could concern you a very little, to gain myself some assurance of your good grace, or to give you by it some assurance of my entire affection towards you; all my hope being taken away by it, of being better treated for the very short time which remains to me of life: I supplicate you by the honour of the sorrowful passion of our Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ, again I supplicate you, at once to permit me to withdraw myself out of your realm, into some place of repose; to search out some comfort for my poor body, so wearied as it is with continual sorrows; and with liberty of my conscience to prepare my soul for God, who is calling for it daily *.

* Camden: "Ut æquis legibus post tot annos libertati restituta,—post diuturnum carceris squalorem."

"Believe, Madam, and the physicians, whom you sent me this last summer, are able sufficiently to judge the same; that I am not for a long continuance, so as to give you any foundation of jealousy or distrust of me. And, notwithstanding this, take of me such assurances and conditions, just and reasonable, as you shall choose. The greatest power rests always on your side, to make me keep them; though for nothing whatever would I wish to break them. You have had sufficient experience, of my observance of my simple promises, and sometimes to my prejudice; as I shewed you upon this very point, about two years ago. Recollect, if you please, what I then wrote you; and you will not know how to bind my heart to you so much, as by kindness, though you keep for ever my poor body languishing between four walls; those of my rank and nature not leaving themselves to be gained or forced, by any rigour.

"Your prison, without any right and just foundation, has already destroyed my body; of which you will shortly have the end, if it continues there a little longer; and my enemies will not have much time, for glutting their cruelties on me; nothing remains me but the soul, which all your power cannot make captive. Give it then room for aspiring a little more freely after its salvation; which alone it seeks for at this day, more than any grandeur of this world. It seems to me, that it cannot be to you any great satisfaction, honour, and advantage, for mine enemies to trample my life under foot, till they have stifled me in your presence. Whereas, if in this extremity, however late it be, you release me out of their hands, you will bind me greatly to you, and bind all those who belong to me, particularly my

poor child; whom you will perhaps make sure to yourself by it.

"I will not cease to importune you with this request, until it be granted me. And, on this account, I pray you to let me understand your intention; having, in order to comply with you, waited even to the present day for two years, to renew my urgency for it, for which the miserable state of my health presses me more than you can think. In the mean time provide, if you please, for the bettering of my treatment on this side, that I may not suffer any longer; and remit me not to the discretion of any other whatever, but your own self, from whom alone (as I wrote to you lately) I wish for the future to hold all the good and the evil, which I shall receive in your country. Do me this favour, to let me have your intention in writing, or the embassadour of France for me. For to tie me up to what the Earl of Shrewsbury, or others, shall speak or write about it on your behalf; I have too much experience, to be able to put any assurance in it; the least point which they shall capriciously fancy, being sufficient to innovate the whole from one day to another.

"Besides this, the last time that I wrote to those of your council, you made me understand, that I ought not to address myself to them, but to you alone (and so to extend their credit and authority only to do me hurt, could not be reasonable; as has happened in this last limitation, in which, against your intention, I have been treated with much indignity). This gives me every occasion for doubting, that some of my enemies in your said council may have procured it with a design, of keeping others of the said council from being made privy to my just complaints; lest the others should see

perhaps their companions adhere to their wicked attempts upon my life*, of which, if they should have any knowledge, they would oppose them for the sake of your honour, and of their duty towards you.

"Two things I have principally to require at the close: the one, that, near as I am to going out of this world, I may have with me, for my consolation, some honourable churchman; to remind me daily of the course which I have to finish, and teach me how to compleat it according to my religion, in which I am firmly resolved to live and to die.

"This is a last duty, which cannot be denied to the most mean and miserable person that lives. It is a liberty, which you grant to all the foreign embassadours; as also all other Catholick Kings give to your embassadours, the exercise of their religion. And even I myself have not hitherto forced my own subjects, to any thing contrary to their religion; though I had all power and authority over them. And that I in this extremity should be deprived of such freedom, you cannot with justice require. What advantage will redound to you, when you shall deny it to me? I hope that God will excuse me, if, oppressed by you in this manner, I do not render to him any duty, but what I shall be permitted to do in my heart. But you will set a very bad example to the other Princes of Christendom, to act towards their subjects with the same rigour that you shall show to me, a Sovereign Queen and your nearest relation; which I am and will be as long as I live, in despite of mine enemies.

"I would not now importune you, concerning the

* This shows attempts to have been made already upon the life of Mary; and (as she thought) by some of Elizabeth's privy counsellors.

augmentation of my houshold; of which, for the time that I see remaining me to live in this world, I will not have so much care. I require then from you, only two women of the chamber, to assist me during my sickness; attesting to you before God, that they are very necessary to me, now I shall be a poor creature among this simple people. Grant these to me, for the honour of God; and show in this instance, that mine enemies have not so much credit with you against me, as to exercise their vengeance and cruelty in a point of so little consequence, and depending upon a simple office of humanity.

"I will come now to that, with which the Earl of Shrewsbury has charged me, if such a one as he can charge me; which is this: that contrary to my promise made to Beale, and without your knowledge, I have been negotiating with my son, to yield to him my title to the crown of Scotland; when I had obliged myself not to proceed in it but with your advice, by one of my servants, who should be directed by one of yours in their common journey thither. These are, I think, the very words of the said Count.

"I will tell you, upon this, Madam, that Beale has not ever had a simple and absolute promise of me; but indeed overtures conditional, to which I cannot remain bound in the fashion in which the business is, unless the conditions which I annexed to it, might be previously executed; about which so far is he from being satisfied, that on the contrary, I have never had any answer from him, or heard mention of it since on his side. And on this account I remember very well, that the Earl of Shrewsbury, about last Easter, wanting to draw from me a new confirmation of what I had spoken to the said Beale; I replied to him very fully, That it

was only in case the said conditions might be granted, and consequently effectuated, to me. The one and the other are yet living to testify this to you, if they will tell the truth about it. Then seeing that no answer was made me; but, on the contrary, that by delays and neglects, mine enemies continued more licentiously than ever their practices, formed since the residence of the said Beale with me, in order to traverse my just intentions in Scotland, so as the effects have been well witnessed there; and that, by this means, the door remained open to the ruin of my son and of myself; I took your silence for a refusal, and discharged myself by express letters, as well to you as to your council, from all that I had treated upon with the said Beale*."

"I made you fully privy to what Monsieur the King, and Madame the Queen, had written to me with their own hands upon this business; and I asked your advice upon it, which is yet to come, with which it was in truth my intention to proceed, if you had given it me in time, and you had permitted me to send to my son; assisting me in the overtures which I had proposed to you, in order to establish between the two realms a good amity and perfect intelligence for the future. But to bind myself nakedly to follow your advice, before I knew what it would be, and, for the journey of our servants, to put mine under the direction of yours, even in my own country; I was never yet so simple, as to think of it.

"Now I refer to your consideration, if you knew of the false game, which mine enemies on this side have

* This serves to show, how treacherously Elizabeth acted with Mary, turning conditional agreements into positive, for her own advantage; and how openly and honourably Mary acted in return, revoking even conditional agreements by express letters.

played me in Scotland, to reduce things to the point at which they stand; which of us has proceeded with the greatest sincerity? God judge between them and me, and avert from this isle the just punishment of their demerits.

"Send back again at once the intelligence, which my traitourous subjects of Scotland can have given you. You will find, and I will maintain it before all the Christian Princes, that no one thing whatever has there passed on my side, to your prejudice, or against the good and repose of this realm; which I affect not less than any counsellor or subject that you have, having more interest in it than any of them.

"There was a negotiation, for gratifying my son with the title and name of King; and for making sure, as well the said title to him, as all impunity to the rebels for their offences past; and for re-placing every thing in repose and tranquillity for the future, without any innovation of any thing whatever. Was this to take away the crown from my son? Mine enemies, as I believe, wished not at all that the crown should be made sure to him: and on that account are very content, that he should keep it by the unlawful violence of some traitours, enemies from all antiquity to all our family. Was this then to seek for justice upon the past offences of the said traitours, which my clemency has always surpassed?

"But an evil conscience cannot ever be assured, carrying continually its fear in its very great trouble within itself. Was it to wish a change in the repose of the country; to procure it by a mild pardon of every thing past, and a general reconciliation between all our subjects? This is the point which our enemies on this side fear, as much show as they make of desiring it.

What prejudice would be done to you by this? Mark then, and verify, if you please, by what other point: I will answer to it upon mine honour.

"Ah! Will you, Madam, let yourself be so blind to the artifices of mine enemies, as to establish after you, and perhaps against yourself, their unjust pretensions to this crown? Will you suffer them in your life-time, and look at them, while they are ruining and so cruelly destroying those, who concern you so near both in heart and in blood? What advantage and honour can you hope for, in suffering them to keep us, my son and me, so long separated, and him and me from you?

"Resume the antient pledges of your good-nature; bind your relations to yourself; give me the satisfaction before I die, that seeing all matters happily settled again between us, my soul, when delivered from this body, may not be constrained to display its lamentations before God, for the wrong which you will have suffered to be done me here below; but rather, that being happily united to you, it may quit this captivity, to set forward towards him, whom I pray to inspire you happily upon my very just and more than reasonable complaints and grievances.

"At Sheffield this 28. of November, one thousand five hundred eighty-two.

"Your very disconsolate nearest relation,

"And affectionate cousin,

"MARIE R."*

* Jebb, ii. 266-275. Camden: "te" for tuos "tibi obliga; princepsque cùm sis, animum ad deponendam omnem offensionem erga me, principem conjunctissimam et tui amantissimam, placabilitate emollias;" and "assiduas preces," and "tandem aliquando inveniant," and "die viii Novemb.," and "affectionee seure."

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Babington Conspiracy—Is discovered by Walsingham—Conspirators seized and punished—Mary implicated—All England indignant against Mary in consequence—Elizabeth determined to proceed to the utmost Extremities against her—Her Domestics and Papers seized—Elizabeth determines to try Mary publicly—The Trial at Fotheringay—Mary at first refuses, then consents to plead—The Accusation against her—Her Defence—The Sentence—Is confirmed by Parliament, which demands Execution—Elizabeth dissembles—France and James interpose to save his Mother's Life—Warrant for Mary's Execution signed—Mary's Behaviour at her Death—Her Character—Her Death lamented by Elizabeth.

NOT long after, the inconsiderate affection of the English Catholics towards Mary, and their implacable resentment against Elizabeth, gave rise to a conspi-

This forcible and pathetic letter is rendered obscure in places, by that which is incident to all letters, the quick glancing of the mind to and from circumstances, familiar to the writer and the receiver, and therefore noticed in a cursory manner only. But it has been considered as so pathetic and so forcible, that Blackwood inserted it entire in his MS. history of Mary's sufferings, as appears from a note above, even while the Earl of Shrewsbury was yet the keeper of Mary, and before 1585; and actually published it in his history, so early as 1587. Camden also formed an abridgment of it, and placed it in his annals (*Orig.* i. 332-337, and *Trans.* 276-280). Dr. Stuart, too, has equally interrupted the course of his narrative with it; after he had spoken of it in these terms: "When the intelligence of the captivity of her son," he says, "and of the bold proceedings of the conspirators, reached Mary; her care, agitation, and anguish were driven to the most affecting extremity. And, giving vent to her sensibility, she addressed a letter to Elizabeth, in which she maintains her dignity, while she yields to her resentments;

racy, which proved fatal to the one Queen, left an indelible stain on the reputation of the other, and presented a spectacle to Europe, of which there had hitherto been no example in the history of mankind.

Doctor Gifford, Gilbert Gifford, and Hodgson, priests educated in the seminary at Rheims, had adopted an extravagant and enthusiastic notion, that the Bull of Pius V. against Elizabeth, was dictated immediately by the Holy Ghost. This wild opinion

---

and in which she has intermingled, in an admirable manner, the most fervent protestations of innocence, and the boldest language of expostulation and reproach. Its ability and vigour are uncommon, and give it a title to survive in the history of the Scottish nation" (ii. 164). And Mademoiselle De Keralio has published it a fourth time, in her Appendix, v. 349-356. But Camden's abridgment, which I admired much before I discovered the original, has lost many of the beauties in the latter, and has ventured to make some additions of its own. These I have noticed above. Dr. Stuart also has formed his copy of the letter, by abridging the abridgment of Camden, by copying his additions as parts of the original, and by licentiously paraphrasing all. And Mademoiselle De Keralio, not attending to this conduct, and not knowing of the French original, has turned Dr. Stuart's letter into French, and given it to her readers for the true original. In this manner is history unintentionally falsified; and thus has the French letter been translated back into French again! I therefore thought it requisite, to act in a very different manner. I thus take leave of my reader, even in my Appendix, with a genuine letter of Mary's; which recapitulates the conduct of Elizabeth to her, in all its principal outlines; which shows Elizabeth to us, as we have seen her before, but with an addition of evidence, mean, tyrannical, insidious, and savage; and also shows the soul of Mary to us, at the seeming approaches of death, recollected in its sentiments, earnest in its feelings, maintaining her innocence with awful solemnity, and appealing to that God, before whom she thought she was going to appear, for the vindication of her honour and the avenging of her wrongs. From the interesting nature of distress, the elevating force of innocence, and the ennobling dignity of religion; the sick and dying Mary here appears with a majesty, before which the low-souled Elizabeth shrinks abashed and confounded. Every honest and generous feeling of our hearts, comes forward to the aid of the oppressed Queen. And we think of her oppressor, with disgust, with disdain, and with detestation!—BLACKWOOD.

they instilled into Savage, an officer in the Spanish army, noted for his furious zeal, and daring courage; and persuaded him that no service could be so acceptable to Heaven, as to take away the life of an excommunicated heretic. Savage, eager to obtain the crown of martyrdom, bound himself, by a solemn vow, to kill Elizabeth. Ballard, a trafficking priest, had at that time come over to Paris, and solicited Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador there, to procure an invasion of England, while the affairs of the league were so prosperous, and the kingdom left naked by sending so many of the Queen's best troops into the Netherlands. Paget and the English exiles demonstrated the fruitlessness of such an attempt, unless Elizabeth were first cut off, or the invaders secured of a powerful concurrence on their landing. If it could be hoped that either of these events would happen, effectual aid was promised; and in the mean time Ballard was sent back to renew his intrigues.

He communicated his designs to Anthony Babington, a young gentleman in Derbyshire, of a plentiful fortune, and many amiable qualities, who having contracted, during his residence in France, a familiarity with the Archbishop of Glasgow, had been recommended by him to the Queen of Scots. He concurred with Paget, in considering the death of Elizabeth as a necessary preliminary to any invasion. Ballard gave him hopes that an end would soon be put to her days, and imparted to him Savage's vow, who was now in London waiting for an opportunity to strike the blow. But Babington thought the attempt of too much importance, to rely on a single hand for the execution of it, and proposed that five resolute gentlemen should be joined with Savage, in an enterprize, the success

of which was the foundation of all their hopes. He offered to find out persons willing to undertake the service, whose honour, secrecy, and courage, they might safely trust. He accordingly opened the matter to Edward Windsor, Thomas Salisbury, Charles Tilney, Chidioc Tichbourne, Robert Gage, John Travers, Robert Barnwell, John Charnock, Henry Dun, John Jones, and Robert Polly, all of them, except Polly, whose bustling forward zeal introduced him into their society, gentlemen of good families, united together in the bonds of private friendship, strengthened by the more powerful tie of religious zeal. Many consultations were held; their plan of operations was at last settled; and their different parts assigned. Babington himself was appointed to rescue the Queen of Scots; Salisbury, with some others, undertook to excite several counties to take arms; the murder of the Queen, the most dangerous and important service of all, fell to Tichbourne and Savage, with four associates. And so totally had their bigotted prejudices extinguished the principles of honour, and the sentiments of humanity suitable to their rank, that without scruple or compunction, they undertook an action, which is viewed with horror, even when committed by the meanest and most profligate of mankind. This attempt, on the contrary, appeared to them no less honourable than it was desperate; and in order to perpetuate the memory of it, they had a picture drawn, containing the portraits of the six assassins, with that of Babington in the middle, and a motto, intimating that they were jointly embarked in some hazardous design.

The conspirators, as appears by this wanton and imprudent instance of vanity, seem to have thought a discovery scarce possible, and neither distrusted the

fidelity of their companions, nor doubted the success of their undertaking. But while they believed that their machinations were carried on with the most profound and impenetrable secrecy, every step they took was fully known to Walsingham. Polly was one of his spies, and had entered into the conspiracy with no other design than to betray his associates. Gilbert Gifford, too, having been sent over to England to quicken the motions of the conspirators, had been gained by Walsingham, and gave him sure intelligence of all their projects. That vigilant minister immediately imparted the discoveries which he had made to Elizabeth; and without communicating the matter to any other of the counsellors, they agreed, in order to understand the plot more perfectly, to wait till it was ripened into some form, and brought near the point of execution.

At last, Elizabeth thought it dangerous and criminal to expose her own life, and to tempt Providence any farther. Ballard, the prime mover in the whole conspiracy, was arrested. His associates, disconcerted and struck with astonishment, endeavoured to save themselves by flight. But, within a few days, all of them, except Windsor, were seized in different places of the kingdom, and committed to the Tower. Though they had undertaken the part, they wanted the firm and determined spirit of assassins; and, influenced by fear or by hope, discovered all they knew. The indignation of the people, and their impatience to revenge such an execrable combination against the life of their sovereign, hastened their trial, and all of them suffered the death of traitors*.

* Camd. 515. State Trials, vol. i. 110.

Thus far Elizabeth's conduct may be pronounced both prudent and laudable, nor can she be accused of violating any law of humanity, or of taking any precautions beyond what were necessary for her own safety. But a tragical scene followed, with regard to which, posterity will pass a very different judgment.

The frantic zeal of a few rash young men, accounts sufficiently for all the wild and wicked designs which they had formed. But this was not the light in which Elizabeth and her ministers chose to place the conspiracy. They represented Babington and his associates to be instruments employed by the Queen of Scots, the real though secret author of so many attempts against the life of Elizabeth, and the peace of her kingdoms. They produced letters, which they ascribed to her, in support of this charge. These, as they gave out, had come into their hands by the following singular, and mysterious method of conveyance. Gifford, on his return into England, had been intrusted by some of the exiles with letters to Mary; but in order to make a trial of his fidelity or address, they were only blank papers made up in that form. These being safely delivered by him, he was afterwards employed without farther scruple. Walsingham having found means to gain this man, he, by his permission, and the connivance of Paulet, bribed a tradesman in the neighbourhood of Chartley, whither Mary had been conveyed, who deposited the letters in a hole in the wall of the castle, covered with a loose stone. Thence they were taken by the Queen, and in the same manner, her answers returned. All these were carried to Walsingham, opened by him, decyphered, sealed again so dexterously that the fraud could not be perceived,

and then transmitted to the persons to whom they were directed. Two letters to Babington, with several to Mendoza, Paget, Englefield, and the English fugitives, were procured by this artifice. It was given out, that in these letters Mary approved of the conspiracy, and even of the assassination; that she directed them to proceed with the utmost circumspection, and not to take arms till foreign auxiliaries were ready to join them; that she recommended the Earl of Arundel, his brothers, and the young Earl of Northumberland, as proper persons to conduct and to add reputation to their enterprize; that she advised them, if possible, to excite at the same time some commotion in Ireland; and above all, besought them to concert with care the means of her escape, suggesting to them several expedients for that purpose.

All these circumstances were opened at the trial of the conspirators. And while the nation was under the influence of those terrors which the association had raised, and the late danger had augmented, they were believed without hesitation or inquiry, and spread a general alarm. Mary's zeal for her religion was well known; and in that age, examples of the violent and sanguinary spirit which it inspired, were numerous. All the cabals against the peace of the kingdom for many years had been carried on in her name; and it now appears evidently, said the English, that the safety of the one Queen is incompatible with that of the other. Why then, added they, should the tranquillity of England be sacrificed for the sake of a stranger? Why is a life so dear to the nation, exposed to the repeated assaults of an exasperated rival? The case supposed in the association, has now happened—

the sacred person of our sovereign has been threatened, and why should not an injured people execute that just revenge which they had vowed?

No sentiments could be more agreeable than these to Elizabeth and her ministers. They themselves had at first propagated them among the people, and they now served both as an apology, and a motive, for their proceeding to such extremities against the Scottish Queen as they had long meditated. The more injuries Elizabeth heaped on Mary, the more she feared and hated that unhappy Queen, and came at last to be persuaded that there could be no other security for her own life but the death of her rival. Burleigh and Walsingham had promoted so zealously all her measures with regard to Scottish affairs, and had acted with so little reserve in opposition to Mary, that they had reason to dread the most violent effects of her resentment, if ever she should mount the throne of England; and therefore they endeavoured to hinder an event so fatal to themselves, by confirming their mistress's fear and hatred of the Scottish Queen.

Meanwhile, Mary was guarded with unusual vigilance, and great care was taken to keep her ignorant of the discovery of the conspiracy. Sir Thomas Gorges was at last sent from court, to acquaint her both of it, and of the imputation with which she was loaded as accessory to that crime; and he surprized her with the account, just as she had got on horseback to ride out along with her keepers. She was struck with astonishment, and would have returned to her apartment, but she was not permitted; and in her absence, her private closet was broke open, her cabinet and papers were seized, sealed, and sent up to court. Her principal domestics, too, were arrested, and committed

to different keepers. Nauè and Curle, her two secretaries, the one a native of France, the other of Scotland, were carried prisoners to London. All the money in her custody, amounting to little more than 2000*l.* was secured. And after leading her about for some days, from one gentleman's house to another, she was conveyed to Fotheringay, a strong castle in Northamptonshire*.

No farther evidence could now be expected against Mary, and nothing remained but to decide what should be her fate. With regard to this, Elizabeth, and those ministers in whom she chiefly confided, seem to have taken their resolution; but there was still great variety of sentiments among her other counsellors. Some thought it sufficient to dismiss all Mary's attendants, and to keep her under such close restraint, as would cut off all possibility of corresponding with the enemies of the kingdom; and as her constitution, broken by long confinement, and her spirit dejected with so many cares, could not long support such an additional load, the Queen and nation would soon be delivered from all their fears. But though it might be easy to secure Mary's own person, it was impossible to diminish the reverence which the Roman Catholics had for her name, or to extinguish the compassion with which they viewed her sufferings: while these continued, insurrections and invasions would never be wanting for her relief, and the only effect of any new rigour would be, to render them more frequent and dangerous. For this reason the expedient was rejected.

A public and legal trial, though the most unexampled, was judged the most unexceptionable method of

* Camd. 517.

proceeding; and it had, at the same time, a semblance of justice, accompanied with an air of dignity. It was in vain to search the ancient records, for any statute or precedent, to justify such an uncommon step, as the trial of a foreign prince, who had not entered the kingdom in arms, but had fled thither for refuge. The proceedings against her were founded on the act of last parliament, and by applying it in this manner, the intention of those who had framed that severe statute, became more apparent*.

Elizabeth resolved that no circumstance of pomp or solemnity should be wanting, which could render this transaction such as became the dignity of the person to be tried. She appointed, by a commission under the great seal, forty persons, the most illustrious in the kingdom, by their birth or offices, together with five of the judges, to hear and decide this great cause. Many difficulties were started by the lawyers, about the name and title by which Mary should be arraigned; and while the essentials of justice were so grossly violated, the empty forms of it were the objects of their care. They at length agreed that she should be styled, "Mary, daughter and heir of James V. late King of Scots, commonly called Queen of Scots, and Dowager of France†."

After the many indignities which she had lately suffered, Mary could no longer doubt but that her destruction was determined. She expected, every moment, to end her days by poison, or by some of those secret means, usually employed against captive princes. And lest the malice of her enemies, at the same time that it deprived her of life, should endea-

* Camd. 519. Johnst. Hist. 113. † Strype, iii. 362.

vour likewise to blast her reputation, she wrote to the Duke of Guise, and vindicated herself, in the strongest terms, from the imputation of encouraging, or of being accessory to, the conspiracy for assassinating Elizabeth*. In the solitude of her prison, the strange resolution of bringing her to a public trial had not reached her ears, nor did the idea of any thing so unprecedented, and so repugnant to regal majesty, once enter into her thoughts.

On the 11th of October, the commissioners appointed by Elizabeth arrived at Fotheringay. Next morning they delivered a letter from her to Mary, in which, after the bitterest reproaches and accusations, she informed her, that regard to her own safety had, at last, rendered it necessary to make a public enquiry into her conduct, and therefore required her, as she had lived so long under the protection of the laws of England, to submit now to the trial, which they ordained to be taken of her crimes. Mary, though surprized at this message, was neither appalled at the danger, nor unmindful of her own dignity. She protested, in the most solemn manner, that she was innocent of the crime laid to her charge, and had never countenanced any attempt against the life of the Queen of England; but, at the same time, refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of her commissioners. "I came into the kingdom (said she) an independent sovereign, to implore the Queen's assistance, not to subject myself to her authority. Nor is my spirit so broken by its past misfortunes, or so intimidated by present dangers, as to stoop to any thing unbecoming the majesty of a crowned head, or that will disgrace the ancestors from

* Jebb, ii. 283.

whom I am descended, and the son to whom I shall leave my throne. If I must be tried, princes alone can be my peers. The Queen of England's subjects, however noble their birth may be, are of a rank inferior to mine. Ever since my arrival in this kingdom, I have been confined as a prisoner. Its laws never afforded me any protection. Let them, not now be perverted, in order to take away my life."

The commissioners employed arguments and entreaties to overcome Mary's resolution. They even threatened to proceed according to the forms of law, and to pass sentence against her on account of her contumacy in refusing to plead; she persisted, however, for two days to decline their jurisdiction. An argument urged by Hatton, the vice-chamberlain, at last prevailed. He told her, that by avoiding a trial, she injured her own reputation, and deprived herself of the only opportunity of setting her innocence in a clear light; and that nothing would be more agreeable to them, or more acceptable to the Queen their mistress, than to be convinced, by undoubted evidence, that she had been unjustly loaded with foul aspersions.

No wonder pretexts so plausible should impose on the unwary Queen, or that she, unassisted, at that time, by any friend or counsellor, should not be able to detect and elude all the artifices of Elizabeth's ablest ministers. In a situation equally melancholy, and under circumstances nearly similar, her grandson, Charles I. refused, with the utmost firmness, to acknowledge the usurped jurisdiction of the high court of justice; and posterity has approved his conduct, as suitable to the dignity of a King. If Mary was less constant in her resolution, it must be imputed

solely to her anxious desire of vindicating her own honour.

At her appearance before the Judges, who were seated in the great hall of the castle, where they received her with much ceremony, she took care to protest, that by condescending to hear, and to give an answer to, the accusations which should be offered against her, she neither acknowledged the jurisdiction of the court, nor admitted of the validity and justice of those acts, by which they pretended to try her.

The chancellor, by a counter-protestation, endeavoured to vindicate the authority of the court.

Then the Queen's attorney and solicitor opened the charge against her, with all the circumstances of the late conspiracy. Copies of her letters to Mendoza, Babington, Englefield and Paget, were produced. Babington's confession, those of Ballard, Savage, and the other conspirators, together with the declarations of Naue and Curle, her secretaries, were read, and the whole ranged in the most specious order, which the art of the lawyers could devise, and heightened by every colour their eloquence could add.

Mary listened to their harangues attentively, and without emotion. But at the mention of the Earl of Arundel's name, who was then confined in the Tower, on suspicion of being accessory to the conspiracy, she broke out into this tender and generous exclamation; "Alas! how much has the noble house of Howard suffered for my sake!"

When the Queen's council had finished, Mary stood up, and with great magnanimity, and equal presence of mind, began her defence. She bewailed the unhappiness of her own situation, that, after a captivity of

nineteen years, during which she had suffered treatment no less cruel than unmerited, she was at last loaded with an accusation, which tended not only to rob her of her right of succession, and to deprive her of life itself, but to transmit her name with infamy to future ages: that, without regarding the sacred rights of sovereignty, she was now subjected to laws framed against private persons: though an anointed Queen, commanded to appear before the tribunal of subjects; and, like a common criminal, her honour exposed to the petulant tongues of lawyers, capable of wresting her words, and of misrepresenting her actions: that, even in this dishonourable situation, she was denied the privileges usually granted to criminals, and obliged to undertake her own defence, without the presence of any friend with whom to advise, without the aid of council, and without the use of her own papers.

She then proceeded to the particular articles in the accusation. She absolutely denied any correspondence with Babington: the name of Ballard was not so much as known to her: copies only of her pretended letters to them were produced; though nothing less than her hand-writing or subscription, was sufficient to convict her of such an odious crime: no proof could be brought that the letters were delivered into her hands, or that any answer was returned by her direction: the confessions of wretches condemned and executed for such a detestable action, were of little weight: fear or hope might extort from them many things inconsistent with truth, nor ought the honour of a Queen to be stained by such vile testimony. The declaration of her secretaries was not more conclusive: promises and threats might easily overcome the resolution of two strangers; in order to screen themselves,

they might throw the blame on her; but they could discover nothing to her prejudice, without violating in the first place, their oath of fidelity; and their perjury, in one instance, rendered them unworthy of credit in another: the letters to the Spanish ambassador were either nothing more than copies, or contained only what was perfectly innocent: "I have often, (continued she), made such efforts for the recovery of my liberty, as are natural to a human creature. And convinced, by the sad experience of so many years, that it was vain to expect it from the justice or generosity of the Queen of England, I have frequently solicited foreign princes, and called on all my friends to employ their whole interest for my relief. I have, likewise, endeavoured to procure for the English Catholics, some mitigation of the rigour with which they are now treated; and if I could hope, by my death, to deliver them from oppression, I am willing to die for their sake. I wish, however, to imitate the example of Esther, not of Judith, and would rather make intercession for my people, than shed the blood of the meanest creature, in order to save them. I have often checked the intemperate zeal of my adherents, when either the severity of their own persecutions, or indignation at the unheard-of injuries which I have endured, were apt to precipitate them into violent councils. I have even warned the Queen, of dangers to which these harsh proceedings exposed herself. And worn out, as I now am, with cares and sufferings, the prospect of a crown is not so inviting, that I should ruin my soul in order to obtain it. I am no stranger to the feelings of humanity, nor unacquainted with the duties of religion, and abhor the detestable crime of assassination, as equally repug-

nant to both. And, if ever I have given consent by my words, or even by my thoughts, to any attempt against the life of the Queen of England, far from declining the judgment of men, I shall not even pray for the mercy of God *."

Two different days did Mary appear before the judges, and in every part of her behaviour maintained the magnanimity of a Queen, tempered with the gentleness and modesty of a woman.

The commissioners, by Elizabeth's express command, adjourned, without pronouncing any sentence, to the star-chamber in Westminster. When assembled in that place, Nauè and Curle were brought into court, and confirmed their former declaration upon oath. And after reviewing their whole proceedings, the commissioners unanimously declared Mary "To be accessory to Babington's conspiracy, and to have imagined diverse matters, tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of Elizabeth, contrary to the express words of the statute, made for the security of the Queen's life †."

It is no easy matter to determine, whether the injustice in appointing this trial, or the irregularity in conducting it, were greatest and most flagrant. By what right did Elizabeth claim authority over an independent Queen? Was Mary bound to comply with the laws of a foreign kingdom? How could the subjects of another prince become her judges? or if such an insult on royalty were allowed, ought not the common forms of justice to have been observed? If the testimony of Babington and his associates was so explicit, why did not Elizabeth spare them for a few weeks, and by con-

* Camden, 520, &c. † Camden, 525.

fronting them with Mary, overwhelm her with the full conviction of her crimes. Nauè and Curle were both alive, wherefore did not they appear at Fotheringay, and for what reason were they produced in the star-chamber, where Mary was not present to hear what they deposed? Was this suspicious evidence enough to condemn a Queen? Ought the meanest criminal to have been found guilty, upon such feeble and inconclusive proofs?

It was not, however, on the evidence produced at her trial, that the sentence against Mary was founded. That served as a pretence to justify, but was not the cause of the violent steps taken by Elizabeth and her Ministers towards her destruction; and was employed to give some appearance of justice; to what was the offspring of jealousy and fear. And the nation, blinded with resentment against Mary, and solicitous to secure the life of its own sovereign from every danger, observed no irregularities in the proceedings, and attended to no defects in the proof, but grasped at suspicions and probabilities, as if they had been irrefragable demonstrations.

The parliament met a few days after sentence was pronounced against Mary. In that illustrious assembly, more temper and discernment than are to be found among the people, might have been expected. Both lords and commons, however, were equally under the dominion of popular prejudices and passions, and the same excesses of zeal or of fear, which prevailed in the nation, are apparent in all their proceedings. They entered with impatience upon an enquiry into the conspiracy, and the dangers which threatened the Queen's life, and the peace of the kingdom. All the papers which had been produced at Fotheringay, were laid

before them. And after many violent invectives against the Queen of Scots, both houses, unanimously, ratified the proceedings of the commissioners by whom she had been tried, and declared the sentence against her to be just and well-founded. Not satisfied with this, they presented a joint address to the Queen, beseeching her, as she regarded her own safety, the preservation of the Protestant religion, the welfare and wishes of her people, to publish the sentence; and without farther delay to inflict on a rival, no less irreclaimable than dangerous, the punishment which she had merited by so many crimes. This request, dictated by fears unworthy of that great assembly, was enforced by reasons still more unworthy. They were drawn not from justice, but from conveniency. The most rigorous confinement, it was pretended, could not curb Mary's intriguing spirit; her address was found, by long experience, to be an overmatch for the vigilance and jealousy of all her keepers: the several penal laws could not restrain her adherents, who, while they believed her person to be sacred, would despise any danger to which themselves alone were exposed: several foreign princes were ready to second their attempts, and waited only a proper opportunity for invading the kingdom, and asserting the Scottish Queen's title to the crown. Her life, for these reasons, was incompatible with Elizabeth's safety; and if she were spared out of a false clemency, the Queen's person, the religion, and liberties of the kingdom, could not be one moment secure. Necessity required that she should be sacrificed in order to preserve these; and to prove this sacrifice to be no less just than necessary, several examples in history were produced, and many texts of scripture quoted, but both the one and the other were misapplied, and distorted from their true meaning.

Nothing, however, could be more acceptable to Elizabeth than an address in this strain. It extricated her out of a situation, extremely embarrassing; and without depriving her of the power of sparing, it enabled her to punish her rival with less appearance of blame. If she chose the former, the whole honour would redound to her own clemency. If she determined on the latter, whatever was rigorous might now seem to be extorted by the solicitations of her people, rather than to flow from her own inclination. Her answer, however, was in a style, which she often used, ambiguous and evasive under the appearance of openness and candor; full of such professions of regard for her people, as served to heighten their loyalty; of such complaints of Mary's ingratitude, as were calculated to excite their indignation; and of such insinuations that her own life was in danger, as could not fail to keep alive their fears. In the end, she besought them to save her the infamy and the pain of delivering up a Queen, her nearest kinswoman, to punishment; and to consider, whether it might not still be possible to provide for the public security, without forcing her to imbrue her hands in royal blood.

The true meaning of this reply was easily understood. The lords and commons renewed their former request, with additional importunity, which was far from being either unexpected, or offensive. Elizabeth did not return any answer more explicit; and having obtained such a public sanction of her proceedings, there was no longer any reason for protracting this scene of dissimulation; there was even some danger, that her feigned difficulties might at last be treated as real ones; she therefore adjourned the parliament, and reserved in her own hands the sole disposal of her rival's fate.

All the princes in Europe observed the proceedings against Mary with astonishment and horror; and even Henry III. notwithstanding his known aversion to the house of Guise, was obliged to interpose in her behalf, and to appear in defence of the common rights of royalty. Aubespine, his resident ambassador, and Bellievere, who was sent with an extraordinary commission to the same purpose, interceded for Mary with great appearance of warmth. They employed all the arguments which the cause naturally suggested; they pleaded from justice, from generosity, and humanity; they intermingled reproaches and threats. But to all these Elizabeth continued deaf and inexorable; and having received some intimation of Henry's real unconcern about the fate of the Scottish Queen, and knowing his antipathy to all the race of Guise, she trusted, that these loud remonstrances would be followed by no violent resentment *.

She paid no greater regard to the solicitations of the Scottish King, which, as they were urged with more sincerity, merited more attention. Though her commissioners had been extremely careful to soothe James, by publishing a declaration that their sentence against Mary did, in no degree, derogate from his honour, or invalidate any title which he formerly possessed; he beheld the indignities to which his mother had been exposed, with filial concern, and with the sentiments which became a King. The pride of the Scottish nation was roused, by the insult offered to the blood of their monarchs, and called upon him to employ the most vigorous efforts, in order to prevent or to revenge the Queen's death.

* Camden, 531.

At first, he could scarce believe that Elizabeth would venture upon an action so unprecedented, which tended so visibly to render the persons of princes less sacred in the eyes of the people, and which degraded the regal dignity, of which, at other times, she was so remarkably jealous. But as soon as the extraordinary steps which she took, discovered her intention, he dispatched Sir William Keith to London; who, together with Douglas, his ambassador in ordinary, remonstrated, in the strongest terms, against the injury done to an independent Queen, in subjecting her to be tried like a private person, and by laws to which she owed no obedience; and besought Elizabeth not to add to this injury, by suffering a sentence, unjust in itself, as well as dishonourable to the King of Scots, to be put in execution.

Elizabeth returning no answer to these remonstrances of his ambassador, James wrote to her with his own hand, complaining, in the bitterest terms, of her conduct, not without threats that both his duty and his honour would oblige him to renounce her friendship, and to act as became a son when called to revenge his mother's wrongs. At the same time he assembled the nobles, who promised to stand by him in so good a cause. He appointed ambassadors to France, Spain, and Denmark, in order to implore the aid of these courts; and took other steps towards executing his threats with vigour. The high strain of his letter enraged Elizabeth to such a degree, that she was ready to dismiss his ambassadors without any reply. But his preparations alarmed and embarrassed her ministers, and at their entreaty she returned a soft and evasive answer, promising to listen to any overture from the King, that tended to his mother's safety; and

to suspend the execution of the sentence, till the arrival of new ambassadors from Scotland.

Meanwhile, she commanded the sentence against Mary to be published, and forgot not to inform the people, that this was extorted from her by the repeated entreaties of both houses of parliament. At the same time, she dispatched Lord Buckhurst and Beale to acquaint Mary with the sentence, and how importunately the nation demanded the execution of it; add, though she had not hitherto yielded to these solicitations, she advised her to prepare for an event, which might become necessary for securing the Protestant religion, as well as quieting the minds of the people. Mary received the message not only without symptoms of fear, but with expressions of triumph. "No wonder (said she), the English should now thirst for the blood of a foreign prince; they have often offered violence to their own monarchs. But after so many sufferings, death comes to me as a welcome deliverer. I am proud to think that my life is esteemed of importance to the Catholic religion, and as a martyr for it I am now willing to die."

After the publication of the sentence, Mary was stripped of every remaining mark of royalty. The canopy of state in her apartment was pulled down; Paulet entered her chamber, and approached her person without any ceremony; and even appeared covered in her presence. Shocked with these indignities, and offended at this gross familiarity, to which she had never been accustomed, Mary once more complained to Elizabeth; and at the same time, as her last request, intreated that she would permit her servants to carry her dead body into France, to be laid among her ancestors, in hallowed ground; that some of her do-

mestics might be present at her death, to bear witness of her innocence, and firm adherence to the Catholic faith; that all her servants might be suffered to leave the kingdom, and to enjoy those small legacies, which she should bestow on them, as testimonies of her affection; and that, in the mean time, her almoner, or some other Catholic priest, might be allowed to attend her, and to assist her in preparing for an eternal world. She besought her in the name of Jesus, by the soul and memory of Henry VII. their common progenitor, by their near consanguinity, and the royal dignity with which they were both invested, to gratify her in these particulars, and to indulge her so far as to signify her compliance by a letter under her own hand. Whether Mary's letter was ever delivered to Elizabeth, is uncertain. No answer was returned, and no regard paid to her requests. She was offered a Protestant bishop or dean to attend her. Them she rejected, and without any clergyman to direct her devotions, she prepared, in great tranquillity, for the approach of death, which she now believed to be at no great distance *.

* DERNIERE LETTRE DE LA REYNE MARIE A ELISABETH†.

MADAME,

Je rends graces à Dieu de tout mon cœur, de ce qu'il luy plait de mettre fin, par vos arrests, au pelerinage ennuyeux de ma vie. Je ne demande point qu'elle me soit prolongée, n'ayant eu que trop de temps, pour experimenter mes amertumes. Je supplie seulement votre Majestié que puis je ne dois attendre aucune faveur de quelques ministres zelez, qui tiennent les premiers rangs dans l'estat d'Angleterre; je puisse tenir de vous seul, et non d'autre, le bien fait qui s'ensuyent.

Premierement je vous demand, que comme il ne m'est pas possible, d'esperer un sepulture en Angleterre selon le solemnites Catholiques,

† Jebb, vol. ii. p. 91.

James, without losing a moment, sent new ambassadors to London. These were the master of Gray, and Sir Robert Melvil. In order to remove Elizabeth's fears, they offered that their master would become bound that no conspiracy should be undertaken against her person, or the peace of the kingdom, with Mary's consent; and for the faithful performance of this, would deliver some of the most considerable of the Scottish nobles, as hostages. If this were not thought sufficient, they proposed that Mary should resign all her rights and pretensions to her son, from whom nothing injurious to the Protestant religion, or inconsistent with Elizabeth's safety, could be feared. The former proposal, Elizabeth rejected as insecure; the

---

practiqués par les anciens Roys, vos ancestres et le miens, et que dans l'Ecosse on a forcé et violenté le cendres de mes ayeuls, quand mes adversaires seront saoulez de mong sang innocent, mon corps soit porté par mes domestiques, en quelque terre saincte pour y estre enterré, et sur tout en France, ou les os de la Reyne ma tres honorée mere réposent; afin que ce pauvre corps, qui n'a jamais eu de repos tant quil a este joint a mon ame, le puisse finalement rencontrer lors qu'il en sera separé.

Secondement, je prie v. M. pour laprehension que j'ay de la tyrannie de ceux, au pouvoir du quel vous m'avez abandonnée, que je ne sois point suppliciée en quelque lieu caché, mais a la veue de mes domestiques, et autres personnes, qui puissent rendre tesmoignage de ma foy, et de mon obeyssance envers la vraye Eglise. Et defendre le restes de ma vie, et mes derniers soupirs, contre le faux bruits, que mes adversaires pourroient faire courir.

En troisieme lieu. Je requiers, que mes domestiques qui m'ont servir parmy tant d'ennuys, et avec tant de fidelite, se puissent retirer librement ou ils voudront, et jouir de petites commoditez que ma pauvrete leur a legueez dans mon testament.

Je vous conjure, Madame, par le sang de Jesus Christ, par notre parenté, par la memoire de Roy Henry septienne, notre pere commun, et par le titre de Reyne que je porte encore jusque a la mort, de ne me point refuser de demandes si raisonables, et me l'assurer par un mot de votre main. Et la dessus je mouray, comme jay vescu,

Votre affectionne sœur et prisonniere,

MARIE Reyne.

latter, as dangerous. The ambassadors were then instructed to talk in a higher tone; and Melvil executed the commission with fidelity and with zeal. But Gray, with his usual perfidy, deceived his master, who trusted him with a negotiation of so much importance, and betrayed the Queen whom he was employed to save. He encouraged and urged Elizabeth, to execute the sentence against her rival. He often repeated the old proverbial sentence, "The dead cannot bite." And whatever should happen, he undertook to pacify the King's rage, or at least to prevent any violent effects of his resentment.

Elizabeth, meanwhile, discovered all the symptoms of the most violent agitation and disquietude of mind. She shunned society, she was often found in a melancholy and musing posture, and repeating, with much emphasis, these sentences, which she borrowed from some of the devices then in vogue: *Aut fer aut feri; ne feriare, feri.* Much, no doubt, of this apparent uneasiness, must be imputed to dissimulation; it was impossible, however, that a princess, naturally so cautious as Elizabeth, should venture on an action, which might expose her memory to infamy, and her life and kingdom to danger, without reflecting deeply, and hesitating long. The people waited her determination in suspense and anxiety; and lest their fear or their zeal should subside, rumours of danger were artfully invented, and propagated with the utmost industry; Aubespine, the French ambassador, was accused of having suborned an assassin to murder the Queen. The Spanish fleet was said by some to be already arrived at Milford-Haven. Others affirmed, that the Duke of Guise had landed with a strong army in Sussex. Now, it was reported that the northern coun-

ties were up in arms; next day, that the Scots had entered England with all their forces; and a conspiracy, it was whispered, was on foot for seizing the Queen, and burning the city. The panic grew every day more violent; and the people, astonished and enraged, called for the execution of the sentence against Mary, as the only thing which could restore tranquillity to the kingdom.

While these sentiments prevailed among her subjects, Elizabeth thought she might safely venture to strike the blow, which she had so long meditated. She commanded Davison, one of the secretaries of state, to bring to her the fatal warrant; and her behaviour on that occasion, plainly shewed that it is not to humanity, that we must ascribe her forbearance hitherto. At the very moment she was subscribing the writ which gave up a woman, a Queen, and her own nearest relation, into the hands of the executioner, she was capable of jesting. "Go (says she to Davison), and tell Walsingham what I have now done, though I am afraid he will die for grief when he hears it." Her chief anxiety was how to secure the advantages which would arise from Mary's death, without appearing to have given her consent to a deed so infamous. She often hinted to Paulet and Drury, as well as to some other courtiers, that now was the time to discover the sincerity of their concern for her safety, and that she expected their zeal would extricate her out of her present perplexity. But they were wise enough to seem not to understand her meaning. Even after the warrant was signed, she commanded a letter to be written to Paulet, in less ambiguous terms: complaining of his remissness, in sparing so long the life of

her capital enemy, and begging him to remember at last, what was incumbent on him as an affectionate subject, and to deliver his sovereign from continual fear and danger, by shortening the days of his prisoner. Paulet, though rigorous and harsh, and often brutal in the discharge of what he thought his duty, as Mary's keeper, was nevertheless a man of honour and integrity. He rejected the proposal with disdain; and lamenting that he should ever have been deemed capable of acting the part of an assassin, he declared that the Queen might dispose of his life at her pleasure, but he would never stain his own honour, nor leave an everlasting mark of infamy on his posterity, by lending his hand to perpetrate so foul a crime. On the receipt of this answer, Elizabeth became extremely peevish; and calling him a dainty and precise fellow, who would promise much, but perform nothing, she proposed to employ one Wingfield, who had both courage and inclination to strike the blow. But Davison remonstrating against this method, as no less dangerous than dishonourable, she again delared her intention that the sentence pronounced by the commissioners should be executed according to law; and as she had already signed the warrant, she begged that no farther application might be made to her on that head. By this, the privy counsellors thought themselves sufficiently authorized to proceed; and prompted, as they pretended, by zeal for the Queen's safety, or instigated, as is more probable, by the apprehension of the danger to which they would themselves be exposed, if the life of the Queen of Scots were spared, they assembled in the council chamber, and by a letter under all their hands, empowered the Earls of Shrewsbury and Kent,

together with the high sheriff of the county, to see the sentence put in execution.

On Tuesday the 7th of February, the two Earls arrived at Fotheringay, and demanding access to the Queen, read in her presence the warrant for execution, and required her to prepare to die next morning. Mary heard them to the end without emotion, and crossing herself in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, "That soul (said she) is not worthy of the joys of Heaven, which repines because the body must endure the stroke of the executioner; and though I did not expect that the Queen of England would set the first example of violating the sacred person of a sovereign prince, I willingly submit to that which Providence has decreed to be my lot." And laying her hand on a Bible, which happened to be near her, she solemnly protested that she was innocent of that conspiracy which Babington had carried on against Elizabeth's life. She then mentioned the requests contained in her letter to Elizabeth, but obtained no satisfactory answer. She entreated with particular earnestness, that now, in her last moments, her almoner might be suffered to attend her, and that she might enjoy the consolation of those pious institutions prescribed by her religion. Even this favour, which is usually granted to the vilest criminal, was absolutely denied.

Her attendants, during this conversation, were bathed in tears, and though overawed by the presence of the two Earls, with difficulty suppressed their anguish; but no sooner did Kent and Shrewsbury withdraw, than they ran to their mistress, and burst out into the most passionate expressions of tenderness and sorrow. Mary, however, not only retained perfect composure

of mind, but endeavoured to moderate their excessive grief. And falling on her knees, with all her domestics round her, she thanked Heaven that her sufferings were now so near an end, and prayed that she might be enabled to endure what still remained with decency, and with fortitude. The greater part of the evening she employed in settling her worldly affairs. She wrote her testament with her own hand. Her money, her jewels, and her clothes, she distributed among her servants, according to their rank or merit. She wrote a short letter to the King of France, and another to the Duke of Guise, full of tender but magnanimous sentiments, and recommended her soul to their prayers, and her afflicted servants to their protection. At supper, she eat temperately, as usual, and conversed not only with ease, but with chearfulness; she drank to every one of her servants, and asked their forgiveness, if ever she had failed in any part of her duty towards them. At her wonted time she went to bed, and slept calmly a few hours. Early in the morning she retired into her closet, and employed a considerable time in devotion. At eight o'clock, the high sheriff and his officers entered her chamber, and found her still kneeling at the altar. She immediately started up, and with a majestic mien, and a countenance undismayed, and even chearful, advanced towards the place of execution, leaning on two of Paulet's attendants. She was dressed in a mourning habit, but with an elegance and splendour, which she had long laid aside, except on a few festival days. An *Agnus Dei* hung by a pomander chain at her neck; her beads at her girdle; and in her hand she carried a crucifix of ivory. At the bottom of the stairs the two Earls, attended by several gentlemen from the neighbouring counties, received her; and there Sir

Andrew Melvil, the master of her houshold, who had been secluded, for some weeks, from her presence, was permitted to take his last farewel. At the sight of a mistress whom he tenderly loved, in such a situation, he melted into tears; and as he was bewailing her condition, and complaining of his own hard fate, in being appointed to carry the account of such a mournful event into Scotland, Mary replied, "Weep not, good Melvil, there is at present greater cause for rejoicing. Thou shalt this day see Mary Stuart delivered from all her cares, and such an end put to her tedious sufferings, as she has long expected. Bear witness, that I die constant in my religion; firm in my fidelity towards Scotland; and unchanged in my affection to France. Commend me to my son. Tell him I have done nothing injurious to his kingdom, to his honour, or to his rights; and God forgive all those who have thirsted, without cause, for my blood."

With much difficulty, and after many entreaties, she prevailed on the two Earls to allow Melvil, together with three of her men servants, and two of her maids, to attend her to the scaffold. It was erected in the same hall where she had been tried, raised a little above the floor, and covered, as well as a chair, the cushion, and block, with black cloth. Mary mounted the steps with alacrity, beheld all this apparatus of death with an unaltered countenance, and signing herself with the cross, she sat down in the chair. Beale read the warrant for execution with a loud voice, to which she listened with a careless air, and like one occupied in other thoughts. Then the Dean of Peterborough began a devout discourse, suitable to her present condition, and offered up prayers to Heaven in her behalf; but she declared that she could not in con-

science hearken to the one, nor join with the other; and falling on her knees, repeated a Latin prayer. When the Dean had finished his devotions, she with an audible voice, and in the English tongue, recommended unto God the afflicted state of the church, and prayed for prosperity to her son, and for a long life, and peaceable reign to Elizabeth. She declared that she hoped for mercy only through the death of Christ, at the foot of whose image she now willingly shed her blood; and lifting up, and kissing the crucifix, she thus addressed it: "As thy arms, O Jesus, were extended on the cross; so with the outstretched arms of thy mercy, receive me, and forgive my sins."

She then prepared for the block, by taking off her veil, and upper garments; and one of the executioners rudely endeavouring to assist, she gently checked him, and said, with a smile, that she had not been accustomed to undress before so many spectators, nor to be served by such valets. With calm but undaunted fortitude, she laid her neck on the block; and while one executioner held her hands, the other at the second stroke, cut off her head, which falling out of its attire, discovered her hair already grown quite grey, with cares and sorrows. The executioner held it up still streaming with blood, and the Dean crying out, "So perish all Queen Elizabeth's enemies!" the Earl of Kent alone answered Amen. The rest of the spectators continued silent, and drowned in tears; being incapable, at that moment, of any other sentiments, but those of pity, or admiration.

Such was the tragical death of Mary Queen of Scots, after a life of forty-four years and two months, almost nineteen years of which she passed in captivity. The political parties which were formed in the kingdom,

during her reign, have subsisted, under various denominations, ever since that time. The rancour, with which they were at first animated, hath descended to succeeding ages, and their prejudices, as well as their rage, have been perpetuated, and even augmented. Among historians, who were under the dominion of all these passions, and who have either ascribed to her every virtuous and amiable quality, or have imputed to her all the vices, of which the human heart is susceptible, we search in vain for Mary's real character. She neither merited the exaggerated praises of the one, nor the undistinguishing censure of the other.

To all the charms of beauty, and the utmost elegance of external form, she added those accomplishments, which render their impression irresistible. Polite, affable, insinuating, sprightly, and capable of speaking and of writing with equal ease and dignity. Sudden, however, and violent in all her attachments; because her heart was warm and unsuspicious. Impatient of contradiction; because she had been accustomed from her infancy to be treated as a Queen. No stranger, on some occasions, to dissimulation; which in that perfidious court where she received her education, was reckoned among the necessary arts of government. Not insensible of flattery, or unconscious of that pleasure, with which almost every woman beholds the influence of her own beauty. Formed with the qualities which we love, not with the talents that we admire; she was an agreeable woman rather than an illustrious Queen. The vivacity of her spirit, not sufficiently tempered with sound judgment, and the warmth of her heart, which was not, at all times, under the restraint of discretion, betrayed her both into errors, and into crimes. To say that she was always unfortunate, will

not account for that long and almost uninterrupted succession of calamities which befel her; we must likewise add, that she was often imprudent. Her passion for Darnley was rash, youthful, and excessive. And though the sudden transition to the opposite extreme was the natural effect of her ill-requited love, and of his ingratitude, insolence and brutality; yet neither these, nor Bothwell's artful address and important services, can justify her attachment to that nobleman. Even the manners of the age, licentious as they were, are no apology for this unhappy passion; nor can they induce us to look on that tragical and infamous scene which followed upon it, with less abhorrence. Humanity will draw a veil over this part of her character, which it cannot approve, and may, perhaps, prompt some to impute her actions to her situation, more than to her dispositions; and to lament the unhappiness of the former, rather than accuse the perverseness of the latter. Mary's sufferings exceed, both in degree and in duration, those tragical distresses, which fancy has feigned to excite sorrow and commiseration; and while we survey them, we are apt altogether to forget her frailties; we think of her faults with less indignation, and approve of our tears, as if they were shed for a person who had attained much nearer to pure virtue.

With regard to the Queen's person, a circumstance not to be omitted in writing the history of a female reign, all cotemporary authors agree in ascribing to Mary the utmost beauty of countenance, and elegance of shape, of which the human form is capable. Her hair was black, though, according to the fashion of that age, she frequently wore borrowed locks, and of different colours. Her eyes were a dark grey; her com-

plexion was exquisitely fine; and her hands and arms remarkably delicate, both as to shape and colour. Her stature was of an height that rose to the majestic. She danced, she walked, and rode with equal grace. Her taste for music was just, and she both sung and played upon the lute, with uncommon skill. Towards the end of her life, she began to grow fat; and her long confinement, and the coldness of the houses in which she had been imprisoned, brought on a rheumatism, which deprived her of the use of her limbs. No man, says Brantome, ever beheld her person without admiration and love, or will read her history without sorrow.

None of her women were suffered to come near her dead body, which was carried into a room adjoining the place of execution, where it lay for some days, covered with a coarse cloth torn from a billiard-table. The block, the scaffold, the aprons of the executioners, and every thing stained with her blood, were reduced to ashes. Not long after, Elizabeth appointed her body to be buried in the Cathedral of Peterborough, with royal magnificence. But this vulgar artifice was employed in vain; the pageantry of a pompous funeral did not efface the memory of those injuries, which laid Mary in her grave. James, soon after his accession to the English throne, ordered her body to be removed to Westminster-abbey, and to be deposited among the monarchs of England.

Elizabeth affected to receive the accounts of Mary's death, with the most violent emotions of surprize, and of concern. Sighs, tears, lamentation and mourning, were all employed to display the reality and greatness of her sorrow. Evident marks of dissimulation and artifice, may be traced through every period of Elizabeth's proceedings against the life of the Scottish

Queen. The commission for bringing Mary to a public trial was seemingly extorted from her, by the entreaties of her privy counsellors. She delayed publishing the sentence against her, till she was twice solicited by both houses of parliament. Nor did she sign the warrant for execution without the utmost apparent reluctance. One scene more of the boldest and most solemn deceit remained to be exhibited. She undertook to make the world believe, that Mary had been put to death without her knowledge, and against her will. And Davison, who neither suspected her intention, nor his own danger, was her instrument in carrying on this artifice, and fell a victim to it.

It was his duty, as secretary of state, to lay before her the warrant for execution, in order to be signed; and by her command, he carried it to the great seal. She pretended, however, that she had charged him not to communicate what she had done to any person, nor to suffer the warrant to go out of his hands, without her express permission; that, in contempt of this order, he had not only revealed the matter to several of her ministers, but had, in concert with them, assembled her privy counsellors, by whom, without her consent or knowledge, the warrant was issued, and the Earls of Shrewsbury and Kent empowered to put it in execution. Though Davison denied all this, and with circumstances which bear the strongest marks of truth and credibility; though it can scarce be conceived that her privy-council, composed of the persons in whom she most confided, of her ministers and favourites, would assemble within the walls of her palace, and venture to transact a matter of so much importance, without her privity, and contrary to her inclination; yet so far did she carry her dissimulation, that, with all the signs of displeasure

and of rage, she banished most of her counsellors out of her presence; and treated Burleigh, in particular, so harshly, and with such marks of disgust, that he gave up himself for lost, and in the deepest affliction wrote to the Queen, begging leave to resign all his places, that he might retire to his own estate. Davison she instantly deprived of his office, and committed him a close prisoner to the Tower. He was soon after brought to a solemn trial in the star-chamber; condemned to pay a fine of 10,000 pounds, and to be imprisoned during the Queen's pleasure. He languished several years in confinement, and never recovered any degree of favour or of power. As her jealousy and fear had bereaved the Queen of Scots of life, in order to palliate this part of her conduct, Elizabeth made no scruple of sacrificing the reputation and happiness of one of the most virtuous and able men in her kingdom.

This solemn farce, for it deserves no better name, furnished Elizabeth, however, with an apology to the King of Scots. As the prospect of his mother's danger had excited the King's filial care and concern, the account of her death filled him with grief and resentment. His subjects felt the dishonour done to him and to the nation. In order to soothe both, Elizabeth instantly dispatched Robert Carey, one of Lord Hunsdane's sons, with a letter expressing her extreme affliction on account of that miserable accident, which, as she pretended, had happened far contrary to her appointment or intention. James would not permit her messenger to enter Scotland; and with some difficulty received a memorial he sent from Berwick. It contained the tale concerning Davison, dressed up with all the circumstances, which tended to exculpate Elizabeth, and to throw the whole blame on his rash-

ness or treachery. Such a defence gave little satisfaction, and was considered as mockery added to insult; and many of the nobles, as well as the King, breathed nothing but revenge. Elizabeth was extremely solicitous to pacify them, and neither wanted instruments, nor reasons to gain her end. Leicester wrote to the King, and Walsingham to secretary Maitland. They represented the certain destruction to which James would expose himself, if, with the forces of Scotland alone, he should venture to attack a kingdom so far superior in power; that the history of past ages, as well as his mother's sad experience, might convince him that nothing could be more dangerous, or deceitful, than dependance on foreign aid; that the King of France would never wish to see the British kingdoms united under one monarch, nor contribute to invest a prince so nearly allied to the house of Guise, with such formidable power; that Philip might be a more active ally, but would certainly prove a more dangerous one, and under pretence of assisting him, would assert his own right to the English crown, which he already began openly to claim; that the same statute, on which the sentence of death against his mother had been founded, would justify the excluding him from the succession to the crown; that the English, naturally averse from the dominion of strangers, would not fail, if exasperated by his hostilities, to apply it in that manner; that Elizabeth was disposed to repair the wrongs which the mother had suffered, by her tenderness and affection towards the son; and that, by engaging in a fruitless war, he would deprive himself of a noble inheritance, which, by cultivating her friendship, he must infallibly obtain.

These representations, added to the consciousness

of his own weakness, to the smallness of his revenues, to the mutinous spirit of some of the nobles, to the dubious fidelity of others, and to the influence of that faction, which was entirely at Elizabeth's devotion, convinced James that a war with England, however just, would in the present juncture be altogether impolitical. All these considerations induced him to stifle his resentment, to appear satisfied with the punishment inflicted on Davison, and to preserve all the semblances of friendship with the English court. In this manner did the cloud which threatened such a storm, pass away. Mary's death, like that of a common criminal, remained unavenged by any prince; and whatever infamy Elizabeth might incur, she was exposed to no new danger on that account.—ROBERTSON.

[*Cotton Lib.*]

THE ACCOUNT OF THE EXECUTION, AND OF MARY'S BEHAVIOUR AT HER DEATH, BY THE EARLS OF KENT AND SHREWSBURY.

It may please your honble good lordships to be advertised, that, on Saturday the 4th of this present, I Robert Beale came to the house of me the Earl of Kent, in the county of ——, to whom your lordships' letter and message was delivered, and her Majesty's commission shewn; whereupon I the Earl forthwith sent precepts for the staying of such hues and cries as had troubled the country, requiring the officers to make stay of all such persons, as should bring any such warrants without names, as before had been done, and to bring them to the next justice of peace, to the intent that upon their examination, the occasion and causes of such seditious bruites might be bolted out and known. It was also resolved, that I the said Earl of Kent should on the Monday following, come to Lyl-

ford to Mr. Elmes, to be the nearer and readier to confer with my Lord of Shrewsbury. Sonday at night, I Robert Beale came to Fotheringay, where after the communicating the commission, &c. unto us, Sir Amice Pawlet and Sir Drue Drury, by reason that Sir A. Pawlet was but late recovered, and not able to repair to the Earl of Shrewsbury, being then at Orton, six miles of; it was thought good that we, Sir Drue Drury and Robert Beale, should go unto him, which we did on —— morning; and together with the delivery of her Majesty's commission, and your lordships' letter, imparted unto him what both the Earl of Kent and we thought meet to be done in the cause, praying his lordship hither the day following, to confer with me the said Earl, concerning the same; which his lordship promised. And for the better colouring of the matter, I the said Earl of Shrewsbury sent to Mr. Beale, a justice of the peace of the county of Huntingdon next adjoining, to whom I communicated that warrant, which Robert Beale had under your lordships' hands, for the staying of the hues and cries, requiring him to give notice thereof to the town of Peterborough, and especially unto the justices of peace of Huntingdonshire, and to cause the pursuers and bringers of such warrants to be stayed, and brought to the next justice of peace; and to bring us word to Fotheringay castle on Wednesday morning what he had done, and what he should in the mean time understand of the authors of such bruites. Which like order, I also Sir Amias Pawlet had taken on Monday morning in this town, and other places adjoining. The same night, the sheriff of the county of Northampton, upon the receit of your lordships' letter, came to Arundel, and letters were sent to me the Earl of Kent, of the Earl of

Shrewsbury's intention and meeting here on Tuesday by noon; and other letters were also sent with their lordships' assents, to Sir Edward Montague, Sir Richard Knightly, Mr. Tho. Brudenell, &c. to be here on Wednesday by eight of the clock in the morning, at which time it was thought meet that the execution should be. So upon Tuesday, we the Earls came hither, where the sheriff met us; and upon conference between us it was resolved, that the care for the sending for the surgeons, and other necessary provision, should be committed unto him against the time. And we forthwith repaired unter her, and first in the presence of herself and her folks, to the intent that they might see and report hereafter that she was not otherwise proceeded with than according to law, and the form of the statute made in the 27th year of her Majesty's reign, it was thought convenient that her Majesty's commission should be read unto her; and afterwards she was by sundry speeches willed to prepare herself against the next morning. She was also put in remembrance of her fault, the honourable manner of proceeding with her, and the necessity that was imposed upon her Majesty to proceed to execution, for that otherwise it was found that they could not both stand together; and however, sithence the Lord Buckhurst's his being here, new conspiracys were attempted, and so would be still; wherefore since she had now a good while since warning, by the said Lord and Robert Beale, to think upon and prepare herself to die, we doubted not but that she was, before this, settled, and therefore would accept this message in good part. And to the effect that no Christian duty might be said to be omitted, that might be for her comfort, and tend to the salvation both of her body and soul in the world to

come; we offered unto her, that if it would please her to confer with the Bishop and Dean of Peterborough, she might; which Dean, we had, for that purpose, appointed to be lodged within one mile of that place. Hereto she replied, crossing herself in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, saying that she was ready to die in the Catholic Roman faith, which her ancestors had professed, from which she would not be removed. And albeit we used many persuasions to the contrary, yet we prevailed nothing; and therefore, when she demanded the admittance of her priest, we utterly denied that unto her. Hereupon, she demanded to understand what answer we had, touching her former petition to her Majesty, concerning her papers of accounts, and the bestowing of her body. To the first we had none other answer to make, but that we thought if they were not sent before, the same might be in Mr. Waade's custody, who was now in France; and seeing her papers could not anywise pleasure her Majesty, we doubted not but that the same would be delivered unto such as she should appoint. For, for our own parts, we undoubtedly thought that her Majesty would not make any profit of her things, and therefore (in our opinions) she might set down what she would have done, and the same should be imparted unto her Majesty, of whom both she and others might expect all courtesy. Touching her body, we knew not her Majesty's pleasure, and therefore could neither say that her petition should be deny'd, or granted. For the practice of Babington, she utterly denied it, and would have inferred it, that her death was for her religion; whereunto it was eftsoons, by us replied, that for many years she was not touched for religion, nor should have been now, but that this proceeding

against her was for treason, in that she was culpable of that horrible conspiracy for destroying her Majesty's person; which she again denied, adding further, that albeit she for herself forgave them that were the procurers of her death, yet she doubted not but that God would take vengeance thereof. And being charged with the depositions of Naudè and Curle to prove it against her, she replied, that she accused none; but that hereafter, when she shall be dead, and they remain alive, it shall be seen how indifferently she had been dealt with, and what measure had been used unto her; and asked whether it had been heard before this, that servants had been practised to accuse their mistress; and hereupon also required what was become of them, and where they remained.

Upon our departure from her, for that it seemed by the commission, that the charge of her was in the dispositions of us the Earls, we required S. Amias Paulet and S. Drue Drurie to receive, for that night, the charge, which they had before, and to cause the whole number of soldiers to watch that night, and that her folks should be put up, and take order that only four of them should be at the execution, remaining aloof of and guarded with certain persons, so as they should not come near unto her, which were Melvil her steward, the physician, surgeon, and apothecary.

Wednesday morning, after that we the Earls were repaired unto the castle, and the sheriff had prepared all things in the hall for the execution, he was commanded to go into her chamber, and to bring her down to the place where were present, we which have signed this letter, Mr. Henry Talbot, Esq. Sir Edward Montague, Knt. his son and heir apparent, and William Montague his brother, Sir Richard Knichtly, Knt.

Mr. Thomas Brudenel, Mr. Beuill, Mr. Robert and John Wingefield, Mr. Forest, and Rayner, Benjamin Piggot, Mr. Dean of Peterborough, and others.

At the stairfold, she paused to speak to Melvil in our hearing, which was to this effect: "Melvil, as thou hast been an honest servant to me, so I pray thee, continue to my son, and commend me unto him. I have not impugn'd his religion, nor the religion of others, but wish him well. And as I forgive all that have offended me in Scotland, so I would that he should also; and beseech God, that he would send him his holy spirit, and illuminate him." Melvil's answer was, that he would so do; and at that instant he would beseech God to assist him with his spirit. Then she demanded to speak with her priest, which was denied unto her, the rather, for that she came with a superstitious pair of beads and a crucifix. She then desired to have her women to help her, and upon her earnest request, and saying that when other gentlewomen were executed, she had read in chronicles that they had women allowed unto them, it was permitted that she should have two, named by herself, which were Mrs. Curle and Kennedy. After she came to the scaffold, first, in presence of them all, her Majestie's commission was openly read; and afterwards, Mr. Dean of Peterborough, according to a direction which he had received the night before, from us the Earls, wou'd have made a godly admonition to her, to repent and dye well in the fear of God and charity to the world. But at the first entry she utterly refused it, saying that she was Catholique, and that it were a folly to moye her, being so resolutely minded, and that our prayers would little avail her. Whereupon, to the intent it might appear that we, and the whole assembly, had

a Christian desire to have her die well, a godly prayer, conceiv'd by Mr. Dean, was read and pronounced by us all: "That it would please Almighty God to send her his holy spirit and grace, and also, if it were his will, to pardon all her offences, and of his mercy to receive her into his heavenly and everlasting kingdom, and finally to bless her Majesty, and confound all her enemies;" whereof Mr. Dean, minding to repair up shortly, can shew your lordships a copy.

This done, she pronounced a prayer upon her knees to this effect, "to beseech God to send her his holy spirit, and that she trusted to receive her salvation in his blood, and of his grace to be received into his kingdom, besought God to forgive her enemies, as she forgave them; and to turn his wrath from this land, to bless the Queen's Majestie, that she might serve him. Likewise to be merciful to her son, to have compassion of his church; and altho' she was not worthy to be heard, yet she had a confidence in his mercy, and prayed all the saints to pray unto her Saviour to receive her." After this (turning towards her servants), she desired them to pray for her, that her Saviour would receive her. Then, upon petition made by the executioners, she pardoned them; and said, she was glad that the end of all her sorrows was so near. Then she misliked the whinning and weeping of her women, saying, that they rather ought to thank God for her resolution, and kissing them, willed them to depart from the scaffold, and farewell. And so resolutely kneel'd down, and having a kercheff banded about her eyes, laid down her neck, whereupon the executioner proceeded. Her servants were incontinently removed, and order taken that none should approach unto her corps, but that it should be embalmed by the surgeon

appointed. And further her crosse, apparell, and other things are retained here, and not yielded unto the executioner, for inconveniences that might follow, but he is remitted to be rewarded by such as sent him hither.

This hath been the manner of our dealings in this service, whereof we have thought good to advertise your lordships, as particularly as we could, for the time; and further have thought good to signify unto your lordships besides, that for the avoiding of all sinister and slanderous reports that may be raised to the contrary, we have caused a note thereof to be conceiv'd to the same effect in writing, which we the said lords have subscribed, with the hands of such other there, the knights and gentlemen above named, that were present at the action. And so beseeching Almighty God long to bless her Majesty with a most prosperous reign, and to confound all his, and her enemies, we take our leaves. From Fotheringay Castle, the 8th of February, 1586, in hast.

Your lordships at commandment.

CHAP. XX.

Of Davison the Secretary, and his Apology for the part he had in the signing of the Death-Warrant—Elizabeth condemned by his Detail of the Proceedings thereon.

"ON Wednesday the first of this present*, about ten of the clock, came one of the grooms of the chamber unto me, to let me understand, that her Majesty had called for me, by my lord admiral, who was in the privy chamber. I found his lordship there, who told me the cause of my sending for; having, first, summarily discoursed unto me some speech, that had past that morning betwixt her Majesty and him, touching the execution of the Scotish Queen; the conclusion whereof was, that she would no longer defer it, and therefore had commanded him to send expressly for me, to bring the warrant unto her†.

"Whereupon returning to my chamber, I took both that and divers other things, to be signed for her service; and, returning, sent in Mrs. Brooke to signify my being there, to her Majesty, who immediately called for me. At my coming in, her Majesty first asking me, whether I had been abroad that fair morn-

---

* This shows the apology to have been written immediately after the events. Mary was put to death on Wednesday the 8th of February, 1586-7. And this apology appears, from the words here, to have been written before the month was expired.

† This warrant appears, from another and a more general apology by Davison, written evidently at a period of time much later, and when he had forgotten some of the minuter circumstances, to have been by him "retained —at the least, five or six weeks un-presented, nor once offering to carry it up, till she sent," &c.—*Robertson*, ii. 482.

ing; advising me to use it oftner; and reprehending me for the contrary; finally demanded, what I had in my hands. I answered, Divers warrants, and other things, to be signed for her service. She enquired, whether my lord admiral had not sent for me, and whether I had not brought up the warrant for the Queen of Scots*. I answered, Yes; and thereupon, [she] calling for it, I delivered it into her hands; after the reading whereof, she, calling for pen and ink, signed it; and, laying it from her, asked me, Whether I were not heartily sorry it was done? Mine answer was, That I was sorry a lady, so near in blood to herself, and of her place and quality, should so far forget her duty both to God and her Majesty, as to give her this cause; but sithens this act of her Majesty was, in all mens opinions, of that justice and necessity, that she could not defer it without the manifest danger of her person and state, I could not be sorry to see her Majesty take this course, of removing the cause

* The other apology says, that he was "sharply reproved" for not bringing the warrant before; "by a great peer, and in her Majesty's presence." (*Robertson*, ii. 482).—Yet this cannot be wholly true. The present apology shows it cannot. And Davison's memory must have failed him here. It failed him thus, I apprehend. The "great peer" is the same, no doubt, who is called "the great counsellor" before, that was sent to him about the warrant; and who was, we know from the present apology, the lord admiral. He had heard Elizabeth express her anger at Davison's not bringing up the warrant before; as she had actually "given her commandment to me," says Davison himself near the end of this present apology, "many days before to bring up the warrant unto her." He heard it. And he took upon him in consequence of this, "sharply" to "reprove" him "therfor." Only he did not do so, "in her Majesty's presence." It is plain, that he did not accompany Davison to the Queen. Davison went from him to his own apartments, there took the warrant, &c., sent in Mrs. Brooke to the Queen, and then went in himself. And no one was present, it is plain, at the conversation that followed between the Queen and Davison.

of that danger which threatened the one and the other: protesting nevertheless, that, for my own part, I was so far from thirsting after the blood of that unhappy lady, that, if there had been any other way to preserve her Majesty and the state from mischief, than by taking her life, I could not have wished it. But the case standing so in the opinion of all men, that either her Majesty or she must die; I must confess freely, that I preferr'd the death of the guilty before the innocent.

"After this, she commanded me to carry it to the seal; and to give my lord chancellor orders from her, to use it as secretly as might be*; and by the way to shew it to Mr. Secretary Walsingham, because she thought the grief thereof would kill him outright, for so it pleas'd her Majesty to say of him†. This done, she call'd for the rest of the warrants and other things I had to sign; and dispatched them all, with the best disposition and willingness that might be; in the mean time repeating unto me some reasons, why she had so long deferred the matter, as namely, for her honour's sake, that the world might see she had not been violently or maliciously drawn into it. She concluded, she was never so ill advis'd, as not to see and apprehend her own danger, and the necessity that she had to proceed to this execution. And thereupon, after

* The other apology says, that, when Elizabeth had signed it, she commanded him "to carry it to the seal, and, being sealed, to send it immediately away unto the commissioners, according to the direction" (*Robertson*, ii. 482).—This is implied, in the direction for the chancellor here, and in the repeated direction to himself, to use it secretly.

† Walsingham was then sick, as these words imply, and as Camden asserts (*Orig.* i. 465; and *Trans.* 393).—In all probability he was only crafty-sick, for reasons that will appear hereafter.

some other intermingled speech here and there, she told me, That she would have it done as secretly as may be; and, misliking that it should be executed in the open court or green of the castle, expressly willed that it should be done in the hall: which I take to be certain arguments, both of her meaning it should be done, and in the form prescribed in the warrant.

"But, after I had gathered up my papers, and was ready to depart, she fell into some complaint of Sir Amias Poulet and others, that might have eas'd her of this burthen; wishing me yet to deal with Mr. Secretary, and that we would jointly write unto Sir Amias and Sir Drue Drury, to sound their dispositions; aiming still at this, that it might be so done, as the blame might be removed from herself. And tho' I had always before refused to meddle therein, upon sundry her Majesty's former motions, as a thing I utterly condemned; yet was I content, as I told her, for her satisfying to let Sir Amias understand, what she expected at his hands; albeit I did before assure myself, it should be so much labour lost, knowing the wisdom and integrity of the gentlemen, who, I thought, would not do an unlawful act for any respect in the world. But finding her Majesty desirous to have him sounded in this behalf, I departed from her Majesty, with promise to signify so much unto Mr. Secretary, and that we would both acquaint Sir Amias with this her pleasure. And here repeating unto me again, that she would have the matter closely handled, because of her danger; I promis'd to use it as secretly as I could, and so for that time departed*.

* The other apology says, that Elizabeth "in conclusion absolutely forbad him, to trouble her any further, or let her hear any more hereof,

"That afternoon I repaired to my lord chancellor, where I procur'd the warrant to be seal'd; having in my way visited Mr. Secretary, and agreed with him about the form of the letter, that should be written for her Majesty's satisfying to Sir Amias Poulet and Mr. Drury, which at my return from my lord chancellor was dispatch'd*. The next morning I received a letter

till all was done" (*Robertson*, ii. 482).—But this cannot possibly be true, as a letter was to be written to Paulet about the assassination, and an answer to be returned, before the warrant was to be sent away.

Camden's account of all this business is much more wrong. He makes Elizabeth send a letter under her own hand to Davison, commanding a warrant under the great seal to be drawn up by him; when the warrant was drawn up by Cecil, given by him "with her Majesty's own privity" unto Davison (*Robertson*, ii. 481); kept by Davison five or six weeks, and then called for by Elizabeth as above. This, says Camden, was to lie in readiness, if any danger should chance to break out. But the reason is as ridiculous, as the fact is false. And she, adds Camden, commanded him to acquaint no one with it; when she actually told him to acquaint Walsingham, and when she necessarily told him to acquaint the chancellor. See Orig, i. 455; and Trans. 382. Camden has here taken up for truths, the wretched falshoods which Elizabeth obtruded afterwards upon the world, as a subterfuge for her guilt.

* The letter is thus entitled, "a copy of a letter from Sir F. Walsingham and Secretary Davison to Sir Amias Poulet," and runs thus:

"After our hearty commendations, we find by speech lately uttered by her Majesty, that she doth note in you both a lack of that care and zeal for her service, that she looketh for at your hands; in that you have not in all this time (of yourselves without other provocation) found out some way to shorten the [life of] that Queen; considering the great peril she is hourly subject to, so long as the said Queen shall live. Wherein, besides a kind of lack of love towards her, she noteth greatly, that you have not that care of your own particular safeties, or rather of the preservation of religion; and the publick good and prosperity of your country, that reason and policy commandeth; especially, having so good a warrant and ground, for the satisfaction of your consciences towards God, and the discharge of your credit and reputation towards the world, as the oath of the association, which you both have so solemnly taken and vowed; especially, the matter, wherewith she standeth charged, being clearly and manifestly proved against her. And therefore

from Cranmer my servant, whom I left at court, signifying unto me her Majesty's pleasure, that I should forbear to go to my lord chancellor till I had spoken with her; and, within an hour after, came William Killigrew with the like message from her; whom I return'd with this answer, that I would be at the court as soon as himself, and give her Majesty an account of what I had done. At my coming to her, she asked me, Whether I had been with my lord chancellor? I told her, Yes. She demanded, what needed that hast? I answered, That I had done no more than she commanded, and thought it no matter to be dally'd withal. But, saith she, methinks the best and safest way for me, is to have it otherways handled; particularizing a

---

she taketh it most unkindly, that men, professing that love towards her that you do, should in a kind of sort, for lack of the discharge of your duty, cast the burthen upon her; knowing, as you do, her indisposition to shed blood, especially of one of that sex and quality, and so near to her in blood as the said Queen is. These respects, we find, do greatly trouble her Majesty, who, we assure you, hath sundry times protested, that, if the regard of the danger of her good subjects and faithful servants, did not more move her than her own peril, she would never be drawn to assent to the shedding of her blood. We thought it very meet to acquaint you with these speeches, lately passed from her Majesty; referring the same to your good judgment: And so we commit you to the protection of the Almighty.

"Your most assured friends,

"FRA. WALSINGHAM.

"WILLIAM DAVISON."

"*At London, 1 Febry.*

"1586."

"*To the Right Honourable Sir Amias Poulet, Kt. one of her Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council.*"

This letter, which ought to be preserved, as an eternal monument of the insidious savageness of the writer, Walsingham, and of the suggester, Elizabeth, was "found amongst Sir Amias Poulet's writings," thus indorsed by Sir Amias: "This letter was received at Fotheringay the 2d of February at 5 in the afternoon."

form, that, as she pretended, liked her better; naming unto me some that were of that opinion, whose judgment she recommended. I answered, that I took the honourable and just way to be the best and safest way, if she meant to have it done at all. Whereto her Majesty, replying nothing for that time, left me, and went to dinner*.

"Within a day or two after, her Majesty, being in the privy chamber, call'd me unto her; and smiling told me, how she had been troubled that night with me, upon a dream that she had that the Scots Queen was executed; pretending to have been so troubled with the news, as, if she had had a sword, she could have run me through. But this being delivered in a pleasant and smiling manner, I answered her Majesty, that it was good for me I was not near her, so long as that humour lasted. But, taking hold of her speech, I ask'd her Majesty in great earnest, what it meant, and whether, having proceeded thus far, she had not a meaning to go forward with the execution? Her answer, confirmed with a solemn oath, in some vehemency was, Yes; but she thought it might receive a better form; because, saith she, this casteth the whole burthen upon myself. Whereunto I replied, that the form prescribed

* How a man, who could talk in this strain of probity to Elizabeth, should ever have become one of her secretaries of state, must excite surprize in us. Camden's account is very remarkable: "Thus was Davison," he says a few weeks beyond this period, "a man of good ingenuity, but not well skilled in court-arts, brought upon the court-stage of purpose (as most men thought) to act for a time this part in the tragedy; and soon after, the part being acted, and his stage-attire laid aside, as if he had failed in the last act, he was thrust down from the stage, and, not without the pity of many, shut up a long time in prison." He was also fined ten thousand pounds, sentenced to prison during Elizabeth's pleasure, and "never recovered" her favour, "though she sometimes relieved his wants" (*Orig.* i. 465; *Trans.* 392).

by her warrant was what the law required, and the only form that was to be kept in honour and justice. She answered, that there were wiser men than myself of another opinion. I told her, that I could not answer for other men; but this I was sure of, that I never heard any man give a sound reason, to prove it honourable or safe for her Majesty, to take any other course than that, which standeth with law and justice. And so, without further replication or speech, her Majesty rose up, and left me*.

"The same afternoon, as I take it, she ask'd me, whether I had heard from Sir Amias Poulet? I told

---

* The day, here meant by the words "within a day or two after," was the very next day, Thursday. In the other apology Davison says, that he kept the warrant after it was sealed, which was sealed in the afternoon of Wednesday, "all that night, and the greatest part of the next day, in his hands; brought it back with him to the court, acquainted her Majesty withal, and, finding her Majesty resolved to proceed therein, according to her former directions, and yet desirous to carry the matter so, as she might throw the burthen from herself, he absolutely resolved to quit his hands thereof: and hereupon went over unto the lord treasurer's chamber, together with Mr. Vice-chamberlain Hatton, and in his presence restored the same into the hands of the said lord treasurer, of whom he had before received it; who from thenceforth kept it, till himself and the rest of the council sent it away" *(Robertson,* ii. 482). These two passages serve each to correct the other. He did not deliver up the warrant to Cecil, the day after it was signed, that is, Thursday, in the afternoon, and just after he had been with Elizabeth. On Thursday he was with her in the morning. Nor was it "a day or two after" Thursday, when he saw Elizabeth for the third time concerning the warrant and the great seal. It was only the very day after it, Friday. This is plain from the nature of the conversation which passed; and from the sending away of the warrant after it. In that conversation, as in this, she declared herself resolved to proceed with putting Mary to death, and yet wanted to throw the burden off from herself. This fixes both to be the same. After the conversation, he gave the warrant to the lord treasurer, and that very evening the lord treasurer sent it away; Beale, the bearer of it, reaching the Earl of Kent's near Fotheringay-castle the very next day, that is, Saturday, with the warrant, &c. in his pocket *(Robertson,* ii. 475).

her, No. But within an hour or two after, going to London, I met with letters from him, in answer to those were written to him by Mr. Secretary and myself*.

"The next morning having access to her Majesty upon some other occasion, I told her that I had letters from Mr. Poulet; which her Majesty desiring to see, took and read†. But finding thereby, that he was

---

* It was certainly "the same afternoon," the afternoon of Friday. The letter from the two secretaries, and an additional letter from Davison alone, are both dated on the first of February, which was Wednesday. They were received at Fotheringay-castle, as we see in a note above, "the second of February at five in the afternoon." Paulet's answer, as we shall soon see, was dated "the second of February" too, and "at six in the afternoon." And it would reach London, in the afternoon of the third, that is, of Friday. The letter arrived accordingly on Friday. Davison showed it to Walsingham of course, immediately. It came directed to Walsingham, though it was received by Davison. He also communicated the contents of it, to Cecil and others of the council. It was then resolved by them, to wait no longer, but send off the warrant by Beale that evening. This appears from the present apology, and a fact mentioned before. On the Tuesday following, says Davison, "knowing what order had been taken by my lords, in sending the commission to the earls, I answered," &c. Afterwards he says also, "as for my proceeding therein with the rest of my lords," &c. And the warrant, as I have showed before, reached one of the earls on Saturday evening.

† This letter also has been luckily preserved, being also "found amongst Sir Amias Poulet's writings," and thus entitled and copied by him:

"A copy of a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham of the 2d of February, 1586, at six in the afternoon, to the [in] answer of a letter from the said Sir Francis of the first of February 1586, received at Fotheringhay the second day of the said month at five in the afternoon."

"SIR,

"Your letters of yesterday coming to my hands this present day at five in the afternoon, I would not fail, according to your direction, to return my answer with all possible speed; which I shall deliver unto you with great grief and bitterness of mind, in that I am so unhappy to have liven to see this unhappy day, in which I am required, by direction from my most gracious Sovereign, to do an act which God and the law forbiddeth. My goods, livings, and life are at her Majesty's disposition; and I am ready to lose them this next morrow, if it shall so please her; acknowledging that I hold

grieved with the motion made unto him, offering his life and all he had to be disposed by his [her] Majesty, but absolutely refusing to be an instrument, in any such action as was not warranted in honour and justice; her Majesty, falling into some terms of offence, complaining of the daintiness, and, as she term'd it, perjury, of him and others, who, contrary to their oath of association, did cast the burthen upon herself; she rose up, and, after a turn or two, went into the gallery; whether I followed her. And there [she] renewed her former speech; blaming the niceness of those precise fellows, who in words would do great things for her safety, but in deed perform nothing: and concluded, she would have it done without them. And here, entring into particularities, [she] named unto me, as I remember, one Wingfield, who, she assured me, would with some others undertake it*. Which gave me oc-

---

them as of her mere and most gracious favour, and do not desire to enjoy them, but with her Highness's good liking. But God forbid, that I should make so foul a shipwreck of my conscience, or leave so great a blot to my poor posterity, to shed blood without law and warrant; trusting that her Majesty of her accustomed clemency, and the rather by your good mediation, will take this my dutiful answer in good part, as proceeding from one who will never be inferior to any Christian subject living, in duty, honour, love, and obedience towards his Sovereign. And thus I commit you to the mercy of the Almighty.

"Your most assured poor friend,

"A. POULET."

"*From Fotheringhay,*
2d of February, 1586."

* Your letters, coming in the plural number, seem to be meant as well to Sir Drue Drury, as to myself; and yet because he is not named in them, neither the letter directed unto him, he forbeareth to make any particular answer, but subscribeth in heart to my opinion."

"D. DRURY."

* This Wingfield is perhaps the Robert or John Wingefield, "that assisted at Mary's execution" (*Robertson*, ii. 478).

casion to shew unto her Majesty, how dishonourable in my poor opinion any such course would be, and how far off she would be from shunning the blame and stain thereof, which she so much sought to avoid: and here, falling particularly into the case of Sir Amias Poulet and Sir Drue Drury, told her, that it was a marvellous extremity, she would have exposed these gentlemen unto. For if, in a tender care for her surety, they should have done that she desired, she must either allow their act, or dis-allow it. If she allowed it, she took the matter upon herself, with her infinite dishonour. If she disallow'd it, she overthrew these faithful gentlemen, who, she knew, did truly and faithfully love her; and not only themselves, but their estate and posterity. And therefore [I] thought this, a dangerous and dishonourable course, both for herself and them: And so, after some particular speech of Mr. Secretary and others, touching some matters past heretofore *;

* What this means, is too plain from the very obscurity of it. But it may be made more distinctly visible, by some observations. In 1586, Mary says at her trial, a few months only before this period, as I have noted in the body of the work; that "Walsingham,—as she heard, had practised both against her life and her son's" (*Camden, Orig.* i. 424; *Trans.* 355).—In May 1587, an Englishman was seized in Scotland, as I have equally noted before, "who was sent into Scotland on purpose, to poison the King's Majesty, or to take him away by some indirect means; it was said at the time, that he was induced thereto, by the Queen of England and her council" (*Moyse*, 128).—But let me add some things concerning Leicester. Fuller says of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, that he died in 1570, "at supper, eating of sallad, not without suspicion of poison; the rather because hapning in the house of one no mean artist in that faculty, R. Earl of Leicester" (*Baronettage*, ii. 358, edit. 1741).—Camden also, a still better authority, says of Leicester, that he was suspected of poisoning Walter Earl of Essex in 1576; and that "the suspicion was increased by Leicester's presently putting away Douglas [Baroness Dowager of] Sheffield with money and fair promises (whether his paramour or his wife, I cannot say), on whom he had begotten a son, and now more openly making love to Lettice, Essex his widow, to whom after-

her Majesty, calling to understand, whether it were time to go to the closet, broke off our discourse *.

---

wards he joyned himself in—matrimony" *(Orig.* i. 264; *Trans.* 217-218).—Leicester too, says Aubrey in his Berkshire, i. 149, "prescribed to Sir Richard Varney, a promoter to this design" of murdering his first wife, "at his coming hither," to Cumner, "that he should first attempt to poison her." A like attempt appears to have been equally made upon his second wife, Lady Sheffield; "for it is certain," says Dugdale in his Warwickshire, p. 167, "that she had some ill potions given her, so that, with the loss of her hair and nails, she hardly escaped death" *(General Biog. Dict.* 1784, DUDLEY).—And Camden adds in 1586, when Elizabeth was considering the mode of putting Mary to death, that "Leicester thought rather by poison, and sent a divine privately to Walsingham, to satisfie him—it was lawfull" *(Orig.* i. 413; *Trans.* 346).—Such an infernal villain was Leicester, and so worthy to be the mate of Elizabeth!

* That Davison should have allowed himself to talk, in this higher strain of probity to Elizabeth, is an evidence of what Camden has said of him; that he was "a man not well skilled in court-arts." Yet he was not an honest man. He had been too long one of Elizabeth's ministers, to be honest. And he actually appears not to have been so, from other parts of his conversation with Elizabeth, and from a couple of letters which he wrote singly to Paulet. In the first of them, which appears from the date as well as the subject, to have been sent along with the extraordinary letter before, for the assassination of Mary; he writes in this strain to Paulet:

"An abstract of a letter from Mr. Secretary Davison of the said first of February 1586, as followeth."

"I pray you, let both this and the inclosed be committed to the fire; which measure shall be likewise met [meted] to your answer, after it hath been communicated to her Majesty for her satisfaction."

But, not content with this, he wrote a postscript to another letter, exactly in the same strain. This letter and postscript appear equally from the subject and date, to have been written immediately after the receipt of Paulet's answer, at the very moment of sending off the warrant by Beale, and before Davison had yet shewn Paulet's answer to Elizabeth.

"A postscript in a letter from Mr. Secretary Davison of the third of February 1586."

"I intreated you in my last letters, to burn both the letters sent unto you, for the argument's sake; which, by your answer to Mr. Secretary (which I have seen), appeareth not to be done. I pray you let me intreat you, to make hereticks both of th' one and th' other, as I mean to use yours after her Majesty hath seen it.

"At my next access to her Majesty (which, I take it, was Tuesday, the day before my coming to court), having certain things to be sign'd; her Majesty entered of herself into some earnest discourse, of the danger she daily liv'd in, and how it was more than time this matter were dispatched; swearing a great oath, that it

---

" In the end of the postscript."

"I pray you let me know, what you have done with my letters, because they are not fit to be kept; that I may satisfy her Majesty therein, who might otherwise take offence thereat: and, if you intreat this postscript in the same kind, you shall not err a whit."

"A. POULET." "D. DRURY."

Davison thus shows his conscious knavery, by his lively apprehensiveness. He had been long in the school of knavery, and had necessarily learnt some of its lessons. Yet he appears from the conversation in the text here, and from another before, to have not been entirely tainted in his principles by it. He was therefore worthy to be brought forward, by a conspiracy betwixt Elizabeth and her more flagitious ministers, in order to be sacrificed for those remains of honesty about him, which were such a disgrace to the school and its preceptress; to be sacrificed by them, for his incongruous acting with them; to be sacrificed by her, for his yet un-subdued relicks of honour in his conversation with her; and to become the grand scape-goat of both, on whose head were laid all the enormities of both, and by whom they were all supposed to be carried away for ever.

Let me only observe in addition to this, that Davison appears to have actually burned their letter; and, had they burned his and Walsingham's, and not kept a copy of their own, we had lost some valuable monuments of the time; that Davison, but not Walsingham, had the honest timorousness of conscience, to wish to suppress the letter concerning the recommended assassination of Mary; and that he was very anxious to suppress it. The much more knavish Walsingham never thought of this. The lamp of conscience was no longer burning in the bosom of the latter. It was in that of the former. And yet it was burning so tremulously there, that he wished to have the guilty letter destroyed, when to destroy could not hide it from the eye of God. He reflected not in the hurry of his apprehensions, that, could he bury it under the foundations of the earth, yet the day was coming, in which those very foundations would be overturned, and, then peculiarly, would

murderous deeds arise,

Though all the earth o'erwhelm'd them, to men's eyes.

was a shame for them all it was not already done; and therefore spake unto me, to have a letter written, for the dispatch thereof, because the longer it was deferr'd, the more her danger encreas'd. Whereto, knowing what order had been taken by my lords, in sending the commission to the earls; I answer'd, that there was no necessity, as I thought, of such a letter, the warrant being so general and sufficient as it was. Her Majesty reply'd little else, but that she thought Mr. Poulet would look for it *.

"And this, as near as I can possibly remember, is

* From these words above, "at my next access to her Majesty, which, I take it, was Tuesday, the day before my coming to court," and from these words soon afterwards, "with the hour of my departure from court," as uniting to mark the concluding period of all his story; it appears, that Elizabeth rated him very harshly on Wednesday, the day so strongly marked as the well-known "day of his coming to court" and "of his departure from it;" on account of the warrant, ordered away the Friday evening before, for the execution of Mary. On this very Wednesday was she executed. Elizabeth had now been apprized, that the warrant was sent away. It was high time to apprize her; though her signing the warrant was a sufficient justification in itself, for sending it away. And, in her usual tergiversation of conduct, she chose to forget all her conversation of the very day before; her "earnest discourse of the danger she daily liv'd in;" her declaration, that, "it was more than time this matter were dispatched;" her "swearing a great oath, that it was a shame for them all it was not already done;" and her "speaking unto Davison" himself, "to have a letter written to Mr. Poulet for the dispatch thereof, because the longer it was deferr'd, the more her danger encreas'd." She now censured him for not "deferring" the execution longer, for averting this "increasing danger," for removing the "shame" from "them all;" and for doing that which "it was more than time" had then been done already. But she so censured him not, till she was sure the execution had already taken place, or would irrevocably take place in a few hours afterward.

Yet, what shows still more the artifice of the whole, she censured him exclusively. She here does so at first, we see. She did so afterwards, and to the last. Indeed she also expressed her anger intermediately against the council in general. She issued a commission, "for their calling to the star-chamber for the same." But she afterwards issued another, "for their pri-

a faithful and true report of the whole substance, of that hath past betwixt her Majesty and me, from the day of signing the warrant, and commandment given to me to carry it to the seal, until the hour of my de-

vate appearance—, instead thereof, before the lord chancellor Bromley" (*Robertson*, ii. 482, 483).—Then, by another touch of mildness to them, just after the trial of Davison was over, "Wray, lord privy seal, signified" in court, "That albeit the Queen had been offended (and that not without just cause) with her council, and had thereupon left them to examination; yet now she forgave them, and withall acknowledged, that they had been very carefull and diligent in their actions and counsels, for the preservation of religion and the commonwealth, and for preventing of all dangers" (*Camden, Orig.* i. 464-465; *Trans.* 392).—And she centered all her resentment on the single head of Davison.

But what is Davison pretended to have done? He had given up the warrant, now signed and sealed, to that very lord treasurer Cecil, who drew it up originally, and who had given it to him for her signing; when he had been sent at the signing, by the Queen's own express orders, to carry it to the lord chancellor for his sealing. He had not given it up, however, till an answer had been received from Paulet; and till Elizabeth, posteriourly as well as previously to her order for a letter to Paulet, had charged him, and had charged the chancellor by him, to use it with all possible secresy.

Yet Camden, imposed upon by the hypocrisy of Elizabeth, says, that Davison "acquainted the council with the warrant and the whole matter, and easily persuaded them,—that the Queen had commanded it should be executed." Davison however gave not up the warrant to the council, and called not a council at all. He gave the warrant to Cecil. Cecil called the council; and Cecil produced the warrant to them. But, as Camden adds, She at that very time told Davison, that "she would take another course with the Queen of Scots" (*Orig.* i. 445; *Trans.* 382).—Cecil accordingly made a confession, which, in the loose and arbitrary modes of proceeding usual with Elizabeth, was produced in court against Davison, instead of a personal testimony from Cecil; and which averred, that Cecil, "doubting whether the Queen had absolutely resolved to have execution done, Davison confidently affirmed it" (*Camden, Orig.* i. 462; *Trans.* 390).—And as Davison was arraigned for sending away the warrant, when Elizabeth never intended that the Queen of Scots—"should have been put to death;" so Elizabeth, in her letter immediately afterwards, to Mary's son, called her death "this lamentable accident, which is happened contrary to my meaning and intention," and "which, since my pen trembleth to mention it, you shall fully understand by this my kinsman" (*Camden, Orig.* i. 461 and 460; *Trans.* 389 and 388).—Yet, all the while, not Davison, but the council,

parture from court. In all which I must protest unfeignedly before God, that I neither remember any such commandment given me by her Majesty, as is pretended; neither did I ever conceive such an intent or meaning in her. And that mine innocency herein may the better appear, let it be considered, first, what the commandment is, and next, upon what consideration it was grounded.

"The commandment (as I understand it) hath two parts; one, that I should conceal it from the rest of her Majesty's council; another, that I should retain it by myself until some tumultuous time, as a thing her Majesty meant not otherwise to put in execution: both which I must in all ~~duty and~~ humbleness, under her most gracious favour*, absolutely deny†.

"And, for the first, I trust her Majesty, in her princely and honourable nature, will not deny*, but

---

sent the warrant away; and the council sent it, only in consequence of Cecil's resignation of it, to them or to their clerk, Beale.

All therefore makes up the boldest scene of hypocrisy that was ever exhibited to the world. We peculiarly know it to be so, from this apology. Elizabeth meant, and always meant, the death of Mary. She particularly declared so, only the day before her execution. Nor was there any need of Davison's attesting to Cecil, that she meant to have the warrant executed. Cecil knew this sufficiently before. The very signing of the warrant, also, proved this decisively. Nor was Davison false in attesting, if he did attest, her meaning from his own knowledge. Elizabeth had declared over and over again, that she meant to have it used. She had repeatedly ordered it to be used with secresy. She had even gone on, for that reason, to forbid the open court, and to point out the hall, for the place of execution. And though she had intimated to Davison, that "she would take another course with the Queen of Scots," yet we, who know that course to have been assassination, can only execrate her the more for it.

* These passages show clearly, that this apology was intended to be seen by Elizabeth. Such an intention adds much to its credit. And it naturally suggests to us, that Davison has rather softened than exaggerated some particulars in his narrative.

† Yet Camden makes Davison on his trial to allow, "That, when the

that she first sent for me by my lord admiral, to bring the warrant unto her; which proveth that his lordship was acquainted with her purpose: and next, that she gave express word, both to carry it forthwith to the seal, with a message to my lord chancellor, who consequently must be acquainted with all; and also, by the way, to impart it to Mr. Secretary. So as, these three being made privy unto it by her good liking, and myself, as I say, not restrained to the contrary, by any such commandment as is pretended; what reason had I to conceal it from my lord treasurer, to whom my lord admiral had first imparted it, or from my Lord of Leicester, to whom her Majesty is [familiar, and had*] signify'd as much, as likewise afterwards to Mr.

Queen blamed him for making such haste, to get the warrant under the great seal [to have the warrant passed under the great seal], she gave some signification, but not express command, that he should keep it in his own hands" (*Orig.* i. 462; *Trans.* 390).—This acknowledgment, if at all true in itself, can refer only to the conversation on Thursday morning, and to the hint of assassination by others, then given. But Davison could not explain the hint to the court. This we see strikingly exemplified in one part of his trial. Then "Egerton, the Queen's solicitor (says Camden), began to press Davison with his own confession," one different from this apology, and equally from that in Dr. Robertson's Appendix (ii. 480); reading a piece thereof. But Davison prayed him to reade the whole, and not parcels picked out here and there: but he had rather (he said) it should not be read at all; because "there were contained in it some secrets, not fit to be divulged abroad" (*Orig.* i. 462; *Trans.* 390).—And, while Elizabeth presumed to tell the boldest lies, and was believed in all that she said, which was the whole evidence that could be brought against Davison; he durst not speak the truth in his own vindication. She thus took advantage equally, of his timorous delicacy, of her own confidence in falshoods, and of the mean ductility of the judges, to ruin him entirely. He had refused to concur with her, in her plot of assassination. He had presumed to remonstrate with her against it. He had preached up honour and conscience to her. And she was resolved to chastise the monitor and the man.

* I have filled up this blank.

Vice-Chamberlain [Hatton*]; as they are acquainted with the rest of the whole proceeding, and as far interested in the cause as myself or any of the others†? Unless her Majesty had a meaning, that Mr. Secretary and I should have dealt alone, in the sending of it to the earls: which for my own part I confess I never liked, knowing her Majesty's purpose, often uttered to myself, to remove as much of the burden as she might, from her own shoulders upon others; which I knew mine own unfit to sustain.

"Now seeing the end of signing and sealing this warrant, in all reasonable probability and judgment, was to go forward withal; that the delay thereof did infinitely increase her Majesty's peril, and thereby hazard the whole estate; seeing it was imparted to some by her Majesty's own order, and no cause or

---

* I have filled up this also.

† This shows the whole pretence against Davison, of his having communicated the secret of sealing the warrant, as if such a secret should be kept, to be only an after-thought, and a mere cover for accusing Davison. She herself had told Hatton, had told Leicester, had told the lord admiral. She had actually sent the last with an order for Davison and the warrant to come to her, and the warrant expressly for her sealing. He had received no command to keep his message a secret, and he had told the lord treasurer Cecil. Cecil, therefore, the very man that we have detected in such knaveries before, must have known of Elizabeth's message, and of Davison's coming, before Davison gave him any assurance of the Queen's resolution. And as Elizabeth had told the lord admiral, and the lord admiral had told Davison from her, that she had spoken with "sharpness" against Davison, for not bringing up the warrant before, and that she had declared "she would no longer defer" the execution (see the beginning of this apology), so the lord admiral must necessarily have imparted this to Cecil. Yet Cecil appeared as a witness against Davison, by his written confession at last, as if Davison had been the first and the only one who assured him of Elizabeth's resolution to have the warrant executed. He was, no doubt, in the secrets of his congenial mistress, and said or did whatever she wished him to do or say. He seems indeed to have been the principal tool of that wretched Queen.

possibility, being sealed, to keep it from the rest, as much interested in the cause as myself; and finally, seeing I could neither, as I take it, in law, nor in the duty of a good subject, conceal it from them, the cause importing so greatly her Majesty's life as it did, and the disposition both of the time and state of things, at home and abroad, being such as it was: I trust it shall sufficiently appear, that I was both in reason, duty, and necessity forced thereunto; unless I would have wilfully endanger'd myself, whose offence, if ought in the mean time had happen'd amiss to her Majesty, must have been, in my own censure, worthy of a thousand deaths*.

"And as for my proceeding therein with the rest of my lords, after it was resolved, that it was neither fit nor convenient to trouble her Majesty any further withal, considering she had done all that the law required at her hands†; and that she had, both to myself and others, signify'd at other times, her indisposition to be acquainted with the particular circumstances of time, place, &c.‡; and that to detain the warrant in

* This argument, though tinctured a little with that fear for the danger of Elizabeth, which was merely chimerical in the extravagance here hinted at, carries a great force with it.

† This points out to us a new circumstance in the conduct of this business. On Davison's showing the answer from Paulet, and giving the warrant to Cecil upon Friday afternoon, it was resolved by the council, he being present, "neither fit nor convenient to trouble her Majesty any further withal." And it is this resolution of the council which Davison afterwards confounded in his memory, and as falsely ascribed to Elizabeth herself, when he says so absurdly in his other apology, as I have shown before, that on Wednesday she "in conclusion absolutely forbad him to trouble her any further, or let her hear any more hereof till it was done; she for her part having, as she said, performed all that in law or reason could be required of her" (*Robertson*, ii. 482).—The close of both, peculiarly shows both to be the same.

‡ This also tells us a new circumstance. Elizabeth had "signified" to "Davison and others," at "other" times before, her desire not to be

expectation of any further directions from herself, was both needless and dangerous, considering the hourly hazard her Majesty liv'd in; and finally, that my lords, knowing her Majesty's unwillingness to bear all the burthen alone, were content, most resolutely, honourably, and dutifully, to ease her as much as they might*: with what reason and justice should I have hindered the course of justice, tending so greatly to her Majesty's safety, and preservation of the whole realm?

"And for the other part, of keeping it by me to such end as is before alleged, I trust the world does not hold me so undutiful to her Majesty, or ill-advised for my particular, as to take such a charge upon me, to the evident peril of her Majesty's life, subversion of the whole estate, and my own utter overthrow. Neither is there cause to think (I speak it all in reverence, and under her Majesty's most gracious favour†), that her Majesty having proceeded so far as she had done to the trial of that lady's fact, found her guilty by a most honourable jury of her nobility, assembled her parliament only for that purpose, graciously heard their petitions, and dismissed them with so great hope; published afterwards the proclamation for her dishabilment, rejected the suits both of the French and Scotish kings for her life, and returned their ambassadors hopeless; confirmed that impression

---

acquainted with the "place," &c. of the execution. Yet she had altered her desire in this respect, when on Wednesday the first of February, she could forbid the green, and point out the hall, as the scene of execution.

* This shows the lords to have been all well acquainted with Elizabeth's desire for throwing the load of murder off from her own shoulders, by substituting assassination for execution; and artfully to have given it another turn, in order to bring the execution forwards.

† This unites with two passages before, to show the apology was intended for the eye of Elizabeth.

by her letters to both princes (some of which it pleased her to communicate with myself); protested many hundred times her necessity and resolution to go through withall* (albeit, for sundry good respects, she had so long deferr'd it); having given her commandment to me, many days before, to bring the warrant to her†, and then voluntarily sent for it by my lord admiral; signing it as soon as I brought it, with her express commandment given me to carry it to the seal, and to have it secretly handled; and, finally, her particular direction, while she was signing other things at the same time, to have the execution done."

The Objections against Mr. Davison, in the Cause of the late Scottish Queen, must concern Things done either —1. Before her Trial at Fotheringay—2. During that Session—3. After the same.

1. Before her trial, he neither is, nor can be charged to have had any hand at all in the cause of the said Queen, or done any thing whatsoever, concerning the same, directly or indirectly.

2. During that session, he remained at court, where the only interest he had therein, was, as her Majesty's secretary, to receive the letters from the commissioners, impart them to her Highness, and return them her answers.

3. After the return thence, of the said commissioners, it is well known to all her council,

1. That he never was at any deliberation or meeting

* This, as to the "resolution" vouched "many hundred times," is quite a new circumstance.

† This is also a new circumstance. And I have accordingly noticed it and the preceding, as such, in the body of the work.

whatsoever, in parliament or council, concerning the cause of the said Queen, till the sending down of her Majesty's warrant unto the commissioners, by the lords and others of her council.

2. That he was no party in signing the sentence passed against her.

3. That he never penned either the proclamation publishing the same, the warrant after her death, nor any other letter or thing whatsoever concerning the same. And,

That the only thing which can be specially and truly imputed to him, is the carrying up the said warrant unto her Majesty to be signed. She sending a great counsellor unto him, ~~with her~~ pleasure to that end, and carrying it to the great seal of England, by her own special direction and commandment.

For the better clearing of which truth, it is evident,

1. That the letter, being penned by the lord treasurer, was delivered by him unto Mr. Davison, with her Majesty's own privity, to be ready for to sign, when she should be pleased to call for it.

2. That with respect to the warrant, he retained it at the least five or six weeks unpresented, nor once offering to carry it up, till she sent a great counsellor unto him for the same, and was sharply reproved therefore by a great peer, in her Majesty's own presence.

3. That having signed it, she gave him an express commandment to carry it to the seal, and being sealed, to send it immediately away unto the commissioners, according to the direction. Herself appointing the hall of Fotheringay for the place of execution, misliking the court-yard, in divers respects; and in conclusion, absolutely forbad him to trouble her any further,

or let her hear any more hereof, till it was done. She for her part, having (as she said) performed all that, in law or reason, could be required of her.

4. Which directions notwithstanding, he kept the warrant seal'd all that night, and the greatest part of the next day in his hands, brought it back with him to the court, acquainted her Majesty withal, and finding her Majesty resolved to proceed therein, according to her former directions, and yet desirous to carry the matter so, as she might throw the burden from herself, he absolutely resolved to quit his hands thereof.

5. And hereupon, went over unto the lord treasurer's chamber, together with Mr. Vice-Chamberlain Hatton, and in his presence restored the same into the hands of the said lord treasurer, of whom he had before received it, who from thenceforth kept it, till himself and the rest of the council sent it away.

Which, in substance and truth, is all the part and interest the said Davison had in this cause, whatsoever is, or may be pretended to the contrary.

Touching the sending down thereof unto the commissioners, that it was the general act of her Majesty's council (as is before mentioned and not any private act of his, may appear by,

1. Their own confession. 2. Their own letters sent down therewith to the commissioners. 3. The testimonies of the lords and others to whom they were directed. As also 4, of Mr. Beale, by whom they were sent. 5. The tenor of her Majesty's first commission for their calling to the star-chamber for the same, and private appearance and submission afterward instead thereof, before the Lord Chancellor Broomley. 6. The

confession of Mr. Attorney-General, in open court confirmed. 7. By the sentence itself upon record. 8. Besides a common act of council, containing an answer to be verbally delivered to the Scottish ambassador then remaining here, avowing and justifying the same.

Now where some suppose him to have given some extraordinary furtherance thereunto, the contrary may evidently appear by

1. His former absolute refusal to sign the band of association, being earnestly pressed thereunto by her Majesty's self.

2. His excusing of himself from being used as a commissioner in the examination of Babington and his complices, and avoiding the same by a journey to the Bath.

3. His being a mean to stay the commissioners from pronouncing of the sentence at Fotheringay, and deferring it till they should return to her Majesty's presence.

4. His keeping the warrant in his hands six weeks unpresented, without once offering to carry it up, till her Majesty sent expresly for the same to sign.

5. His deferring to send it away after it was seal'd, unto the commissioners, as he was specially commanded, staying it all that night, and the greatest part of the next day in his hands.

6. And finally, his restoring thereof into the hands of the lord treasurer, of whom he had before received the same.

Which are clear and evident proofs, that the said Davison did nothing in this cause whatsoever, con-

trary to the duty of the place he then held in her Majesty's service.

Cal. C. 9.

This seems to be an original. On the back is this title,

The innocency of Mr. Davison in the cause of the late Scottish Queen.—ROBERTSON.

THE END.

B. M'Millan, Printer,
Bow Street, Covent Garden.

NEW WORKS,

PUBLISHED BY

SHERWOOD, JONES, AND CO.

LADY JANE GREY, AND HER TIMES.

By GEORGE HOWARD, Esq.

Elegantly printed on Post Octavo, and Embellished with an accredited Likeness, and numerous Cuts, Price 12*s.* in boards.

*** This Volume, independent of the interest excited by its subject, 'the victim of parental ambition, and a sacrifice to filial obedience,' illustrates the intervening period of history between the turbulent and tyrannic reign of Henry VIII. and the glorious, though despotic one of his daughter Elizabeth.—"The Author has been happy in his choice of subject; for, though the life of the Heroine scarcely extended to seventeen years, yet the period which may be called 'Her Times,' embraces some of the most important facts connected with our constitution, both political and religious."—*New Monthly Magazine.*

WOLSEY THE CARDINAL, AND HIS TIMES,

COURTLY, POLITICAL, AND ECCLESIASTICAL.

By GEORGE HOWARD, Esq.

Elegantly printed in Octavo, and Embellished with a finely-engraved Portrait and Autograph, and numerous Cuts, Price 16*s.* in boards.

"Works of the kind before us are excellently fitted to supply the defects in history, where a leading personage may not have his proper share of distinction, and the result be much the same as spoiling a drama, by curtailing the acts and speeches of the principal character."—*Gent. Mag.*

"We consider this Life of the Cardinal as a valuable addition to biography."—*Lit. Chron.*

"Mr. Howard has depicted Wolsey exactly as we think he was. In the several stages of his progress, and onward to his decline, fall, and death, the heart and mind of this singular man are figured to us in perhaps the best of all possible ways—in his demeanor and his actions."—*Critical Gazette.*

"We are quite disposed to do Mr. Howard justice, by saying that he has left no source of information concerning the subject of his biography unvisited, and has brought together, within a reasonable compasss, the scattered information which he derived from various authorities. In one particular, also, his work has an essential value; namely, in reconciling some chronological discrepancies, arising from the different modes of notation used by the earlier annalists."—*Monthly Review.*

OLIVER CROMWELL, AND HIS TIMES.

By THOMAS CROMWELL.

Second Edition, considerably improved, and illustrated with a correct Likeness of Cromwell, Price 16*s.* boards.

"The Author of the present Volume has done more to pourtray the true character of Cromwell, than any preceding writer."—*Lit. Chron.*

A CRITICAL DISSERTATION ON THE NATURE AND PRINCIPLES OF TASTE.

By M. M'DERMOT, Esq.

Elegantly printed in Octavo, Price 12*s.* in boards.

*** In this Volume, the various Theories adopted by former Writers, are critically examined, the Author entering into a philosophical investigation of all the important questions connected, not only with Taste itself, but with its proper objects. The Work will be found to contain, in all respects, an original view of the subject, both in design and execution.

00028765

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 02 January, 2016